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ABSTRACT

Findings and recommendations of a government commissioned study on the United States Information Agency (USIA) are presented. The first of six substantive sections summarizes commission recommendations concerning the following USIA activities and their government funding: Voice of America Radio broadcasts, the Office of Research, cultural exhibits, private sector programs, donated books, and English teaching abroad. The next section describes the membership and activities of the commission. The role of the USIA in public diplomacy, the third section, emphasizes the recent expansion of activities and suggests means for continuing this expansion. The Voice of America and various USIA television services are addressed in the fourth section. The fifth section considers educational and cultural programs of the USIA, including exchanges, international visitors, university affiliations, private sector programs, libraries, and teaching programs. A final sixth section, on agency management, focuses on the agency's relocation to Washington, District of Columbia, the need for increased personnel, and current management problems. Appendices describe a radio broadcast to Cuba and list the former advisory commission members. (LP)

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1983 Report of the UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

SO 015 529

To the Congress and to the President of the United States

In accordance with the requirements of Section 8, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977, and Public Law 96-60, the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy submits herewith its annual report on the U.S. Information Agency.

Respectfully submitted,

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., Chairman
President, The Heritage Foundation
Virginia

e. robert (bob) wallach
Vice Chairman
Lawyer-Counselor
Dean, Hastings Law School Center for Trial and Appellate Advocacy
California

Olin Robison
Professor of Political Science
President, Middlebury College
Vermont

Hershey Gold
Chairman of the Board
Super Yarn Mart!
California

Leonard L. Silverstein
Attorney; Partner, Silverstein & Mullens
President, National Symphony Orchestra Association (1980-83)
Chief Editor, *Tax Management*
Maryland

Tom C. Korologos
Vice President and Director of Legislative Affairs
Timmons and Company, Inc.
Virginia

Mae Sue Talley
Retired Business Executive, Publisher and Civic Leader
Arizona

A MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Public diplomacy has come of age.

During the last several years, as foreign policy decisions have been seen to have a direct impact on American politics and the economy, the role of public diplomacy has been substantially heightened. In recognition of this fact, the importance of the U.S. Information Agency within the foreign affairs community has been correspondingly increased.

This Administration, with the Commission's strong support, has undertaken a long-term commitment to augment USIA's financial resources and modernize its facilities. It is heartening to those who believe in the importance of public diplomacy that the long-time "starvation diet" of the Agency has been to some extent overcome, particularly at a time of great pressure to reduce federal spending. Funding levels have increased in the last three years, although measured in constant dollars, the Agency still operates at a substantially lower budget level than it enjoyed in its peak post war years.

Effective communication of American policies and values is an important tool for the policymaker. There are severe limitations on military action in virtually any foreign policy crisis. Similarly, concerted economic action is difficult because of domestic political considerations and because coordinated action among allies is often difficult to achieve. Thus, public diplomacy often becomes the most appropriate, indeed sometimes the only, course of action available to our policymakers.

However, public diplomacy is important in its own right not just as the "other option." As Disraeli said, "It is with words that we govern men." The role of semantics is critical in any battle of ideas. This Commission has expended considerable effort during the past year on this issue, and we invite public discussion of the subject.

My colleagues and I have traveled throughout the world a great deal during the past several years, and we have talked with many USIA officers and American ambassadors. We have also met with a number of senior foreign policymakers in Washington. We have been consistently impressed by the quality of USIA personnel and the high regard in which they are held by others in the foreign affairs community. Their ability to reach foreign opinion leaders, to explain the subtle nuances of American foreign policy, to convey the universal regard that Americans of all political persuasions have for our system of government, and their ability to respond quickly with official U.S. Government views on fastbreaking events make the USIA professional an essential part of the American foreign policy process.

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Much of USIA's work is not new. It includes time-tested techniques which are used by our allies and adversaries as well: exchange programs, foreign radio broadcasting, television, magazines, books, libraries and cultural centers, and many other activities which are discussed and evaluated in this report.

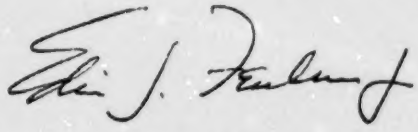
The current Administration, and particularly USIA Director Charles Z. Wick, have brought new energy and a renewed sense of purpose to the Agency. Director Wick, while occasionally criticized for his personal style, has nonetheless brought the Agency to the forefront of U.S. foreign affairs. New initiatives, such as "Euronet" (satellite television links to embassies in Europe), modernization of the Voice of America, youth exchanges, and substantial expansion of educational exchange programs, have led to a heightened sense of the importance and relevance of the mission of USIA.

Director Wick has opened up USIA to new ideas and new people. Private sector advisory committees have brought some of the best minds from America's private sector to the work of public diplomacy. Their ideas have been a positive stimulus to USIA.

Certain policy and managerial changes have raised criticism as well as support among members of Congress and the national news media. While this Commission has been alert to such criticism, it is our judgment that the improvements have far outweighed whatever shortcomings might be seen in the Agency.

The communication skills and advisory capabilities of USIA today are being more effectively utilized. Their full use in the making of foreign policy—as well as in policy implementation—will not be realized until the Director of the U.S. Information Agency participates regularly as a statutory advisor to the National Security Council. This is a recommendation which the Commission has made previously. We strongly endorse it again this year.

The United States Information Agency is effectively carrying out its legislative mandate. We commend this report to everyone interested in public diplomacy.



Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman

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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

THE ROLE OF USIA AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The Commission recommends that a Presidential Directive be issued implementing Congressional intent that the Director of USIA serve as a statutory advisor to the National Security Council and as the principal advisor to the President on foreign public opinion and the conduct of public diplomacy.

The Commission recommends that a task force be created under the National Security Council to assess the problem of semantics in the international "war of words" and propose an institutionalized means to counter misleading terminology and increase the accuracy of international political discourse.

The Commission recommends that USIA's capability to assess the probable reaction of foreign public opinion be utilized in the making of every major foreign policy proposal or policy options study.

VOICE OF AMERICA

The Commission believes it is urgent and essential that the U.S. do more to ensure that the Voice of America can deliver a strong, reliable signal worldwide.

The Commission recommends that VOA give a higher priority to research and development on direct satellite broadcasting (DBS) technology.

The Commission recommends that a Special Representative of the President with the rank of ambassador be appointed to coordinate U.S. Government activities relating to the negotiation of VOA transmitter site agreements.

The Commission believes that placing Radio Marti within the Voice of America is questionable public policy that sets a precedent of uncertain consequence. The Commission recommends that USIA take care to ensure that VOA's Charter is not compromised, that Radio Marti meets the highest standards of accuracy and objectivity, and that it not become the voice of any single segment of American society.

RESEARCH

The Commission recommends that the staff and budget of the Office of Research be increased substantially to provide the research capability required for national security and foreign policy needs and for the regular and methodical evaluation of Agency programs and products.

EXHIBITS

The Commission recommends that USIA strengthen American cultural and political presence through an expanded exhibits program in Western Europe and the Third World.

PRIVATE SECTOR PROGRAMS

The Commission recommends that Congress not extend the requirement that it be notified fifteen days in advance of all USIA program grants.

The Commission recommends that USIA seek and encourage promising new organizations to participate in its grant programs. Effective, traditionally-funded organizations, subject to careful scrutiny and periodic review, should continue to play a central role in multiplying what can be accomplished through government programs.

DONATED BOOKS

The Commission recommends that Congress enact legislation increasing the tax deduction for donated books to increase the incentive for publishers to donate books for USIA program use.

ENGLISH TEACHING

The Commission recommends that the Agency strengthen its English teaching programs and give increased support to Binational Centers.

THE COMMISSION: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT DOES

For more than a generation, it has been the intent of Congress that a bipartisan group of citizens, drawn from a broad cross section of professional backgrounds, should bring informed and independent judgment to bear on America's public diplomacy. To this end, it has established the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy to conduct a continuing overview of the activities of the United States Information Agency.[1]

It is the task of the Commission to recommend policies and programs in support of USIA's mission and principal activities. The Commission is required to assess the work of the Agency and to report its findings and recommendations to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, the Director of USIA, and to the American people.

[1] The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy was established in 1978 as the successor to two advisory bodies—the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information for the the U.S. Information Agency and the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for the former Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State. The Commission by law carries out the functions of its predecessors as well as additional responsibilities set forth in Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977.

President Reagan has nominated Priscilla L. Buckley, Richard M. Scaife, and Herbert Schmertz to be members of the Commission, succeeding Leonard L. Silverstein, Mae Sue Talley, and Olin Robison whose terms have expired.

Chairman Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., accompanied by Commission members Tom C. Korologos, Mae Sue Talley, and Vice Chairman e. robert (bob) wallach, testifies on behalf of VOA Congressional media gallery accreditation before the Senate Rules Committee.

We approach these responsibilities with a sobering sense of their magnitude and in the unanimous conviction that public diplomacy is indispensable to our national security.

USIA is an agency in transition. Begun in World War II, it has been forced for decades to compete in the war of ideas with inadequate resources and obsolete equipment. Today, this is changing. Both in government and among the American people there is an increasing sense that "ideas have consequences"—that using communications technology to shape opinions is as important as maintaining a strong national defense.

The results are impressive:

- A heightened role for the Agency in the conduct of foreign policy.
- New approaches to USIA's traditional information programs and to the administration of international educational and cultural exchange programs.
- A creative sensitivity to the potential of communications satellites and state-of-the-art technology in television programming.
- A systematic and long overdue effort to modernize the facilities of the Voice of America.
- And above all awareness at the highest levels of American government that public diplomacy is an essential ingredient in the conduct of foreign affairs.

The Commission has been an active partner with USIA in bringing these changes about.

Oversight Activities

The Commission believes it can best carry out its oversight responsibilities by thoroughly informing itself on what USIA is doing now and what its plans are for the future. This means taking the time to listen to those engaged in and knowledgeable about the conduct of public diplomacy.

During the past year the Commission met at least once a month and, as

Commission member Tom C. Korologos opens the USIA-sponsored "American Theater Today" exhibit in Athens. Observing are Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri and other honored guests.

required, more frequently. It held regular hearings in Washington with USIA Director Charles Z. Wick and his senior associates. In addition it met with members of USIA's Congressional committees and their staffs, senior officials in the White House and the Department of State, and with numerous public and private sector communications professionals.[2]

Members of the Commission have also visited many of USIA's overseas posts for a firsthand look at the Agency's field activities. During 1983, its seven members visited 25 posts and discussed public diplomacy problems and programs with some 20 U.S. Ambassadors and more than 50 senior USIA officers. Many of these post visits were privately financed. Commission members also participated in regional conferences for USIA's Public Affairs Officers in Africa and East Asia. A meeting of the full Commission was held with members of the United States delegation to the United Nations in New York.

Legislative Activities

Making its views known to Congress is an important part of the Commission's statutory responsibilities. It does so through meetings with members of USIA's authorization and appropriations committees and through letters and reports. At appropriate stages in the legislative process this year, the Commission expressed its views to members of Congress and their staffs on USIA's budget, the need to modernize the Voice of America, Project Democracy, the accreditation of the Voice of America's Capitol Hill correspondents, and legislation to establish Radio Marti within the Voice of America.

The Commission took a leading role in seeking accreditation by the Congressional media galleries for the Voice of America's news correspondents. For decades, denial of accreditation had been based on the argument that VOA is a government-funded agency and therefore not a legitimate news organization. At the same time, however, Congress for many years has permitted numerous other government-funded news agencies to be accredited as exceptions to House and Senate rules—Tass, Radio Moscow, the BBC, Radio France International, and East German Radio, among others.

Struck by this double standard, the Commission brought the accreditation issue to the attention of the Senate Rules Committee and other members of the Senate. In testimony before the Committee, the Commission pointed out that VOA is a legitimate news organization required by law to be an "accurate, comprehensive and objective source of news." Lack of accreditation, in the Commission's view, gives intellectual ammunition to America's adversaries who characterize VOA as a propaganda arm of incumbent administrations, while the legitimacy of their own government-supported and controlled press agencies is enhanced by having received U.S. Capitol press credentials.

The Commission is pleased that as a result of the hearings and discussions with members of the Senate Rules Committee and members of the Congressional Radio-Television Galleries, VOA correspondents finally have been granted long overdue accreditation and full access to the proceedings of Congress.

Public Diplomacy Activities

In addition to their advisory responsibilities, Commission members have contributed directly to the achievement of public diplomacy objectives. Some have undertaken speaking engagements with foreign audiences on topics relevant to USIA's country plan objectives. Commission members occasionally grant media interviews while abroad and engage in personal contact with influential decision-makers in foreign countries.

Members have also represented the U.S. Government in such ceremonial activities as the launching of the Tricentennial of the first German settlement in the United States in Krefeld, Germany; the opening of USIA's "American Theater Today" exhibit in Athens; the opening of new USIS facilities in Sri Lanka; and the opening of an American graphics exhibit in Tel Aviv.

The Commission has taken an activist approach to its responsibilities because it believes informed private citizens can contribute to the development of sound public policy. The Commission is also deeply committed to the importance of foreign attitudes in achieving U.S. foreign policy objectives and to the significance of public diplomacy.

The report which follows sets forth the Commission's principal findings and concerns over the past year.

[2] Among others, the Commission met with former Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs William P. Clark and Richard V. Allen, Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam, Representative Dante B. Fascell, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director Kenneth Adelman, Under Secretary of State William Schneider, State Department Counselor Edward Derwinski, Ambassador John Holdridge, Deputy USUN Ambassador Charles Lichenstein, Ambassador Max Kampelman, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, Ambassador Thomas Enders, Ambassador Otto Reich, Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting Frank Shakespeare, and former CBS President Frank Stanton.

THE ROLE OF USIA AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Commission recommends that a Presidential Directive be issued implementing Congressional intent that the Director of USIA serve as a statutory advisor to the National Security Council and as the principal advisor to the President on foreign public opinion and the conduct of public diplomacy.

- The Commission recommends that a task force be created under the National Security Council to assess the problem of semantics in the international "war of words" and propose an institutionalized means to counter misleading terminology and increase the accuracy of international political discourse.

- The Commission recommends that USIA's capability to assess the probable reaction of foreign public opinion be utilized in the making of every major foreign policy proposal or policy options study.

No one in a democratic society—certainly no elected official—would question the importance of public opinion or the power of ideas. Yet these facts, unchallenged in our domestic affairs, are often forgotten or slighted in the conduct of our relations with other countries. They are, however, the concern of public diplomacy and USIA whose role is to explain the motivations, actions and policies of the American people to an often skeptical world.

This is no small task. Even the most casual observer of foreign affairs must be aware of the troubled state of U.S.-European relations, to cite only one problem area. European publics have expressed, indeed often demonstrated, their misapprehensions and criticisms of the U.S. over nuclear and strategic matters and the deployment of new U.S. medium range missiles in Europe. There are sharp differences over monetary, trade and agricultural export policies. Much of the European media and public opinion is hostile to U.S. policies in Central America. Public opinion polls show a decline in respect for American leadership. Some of these issues reflect divergent national interests, but some stem from misunderstandings and others are fanned into controversies by Communist-planted "disinformation."

Words and Foreign Policy

Perhaps the most serious type of "disinformation" sown by the Communists over the years is that which Under Secretary of Defense Fred C. Ikle and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan have termed "semantic infiltration," i.e., the systematic distortion of the meaning of certain words to confuse or mislead.[1] The Communists seem to have followed the lead of Humpty Dumpty, who explained to Alice, "When *I* use a word it means just what I choose it to mean."[2]

In just this way Soviet propagandists have corrupted such powerfully positive words as "people," "liberation," "peace," and "democratic," and used them to describe movements and governments whose goals and structures are the antithesis of their names. Any opposing movement or government is usually labeled fascist or imperialist. The efforts of democratic nations to counter this have been sporadic and unsystematic, and we have even fallen into the trap of using Communist terminology ourselves, as in, for example, the German Democratic Republic.

Regrettably, there is no "truth-in-labeling" required of speeches by political leaders. If there were, it would help people everywhere to perceive and understand the meaning of world events more accurately. It would also raise the level and accuracy of international political discourse. This Commission believes that both Administration and Congressional leaders must be made more aware of the crucial importance of semantics in the "war of words." If our adversaries insist on following Humpty Dumpty's rule, then they must be called to account for their distortions.

We believe the times require a conscious effort to improve the accuracy and political impact of words and terms

[1] Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Words and Foreign Policy," *Policy Review*, Fall 1978; "Further Thoughts on Words and Foreign Policy," *Policy Review*, Spring 1979. For a more recent discussion of this subject, see Jim Guirard, "Losing the Semantic War," *Washington Inquirer*, June 17, 1983.

[2] Lewis Carroll, *Through The Looking Glass*.

used by our leaders in speaking to the world. By so doing, they can help disclose the hypocrisy and distortions of hostile propaganda. This is not a problem that will go away, and we must be prepared to deal with it on a systematic and continuing basis.

The Commission recommends that a task force be created, under the National Security Council and including representatives of the Departments of State and Defense and USIA, to assess the problem and propose an institutionalized means to respond to inaccurate or misleading terminology in international political discourse.

Resources

The role of USIA is not to manipulate, but to try to ensure that foreign perceptions of the U.S. are accurate and to correct misinformation and misunderstandings. Public diplomacy, wisely and skillfully used, can lessen the possibility of confrontation and conflict, but as we have pointed out in past reports, it has for years been woefully underfunded.

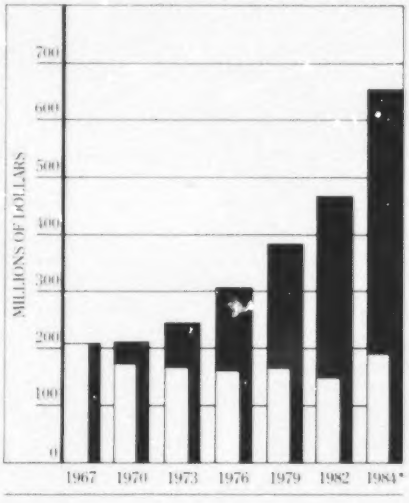
The Commission is encouraged by recent indications that the U.S. Government is beginning, albeit slowly in certain quarters, to recognize the importance of public diplomacy. A recent House Foreign Affairs Committee report noted the significance of information and educational exchange programs "has long been overlooked by U.S. policy makers." The Committee added:

"The United States has lagged behind those nations that compete with the United States in the dissemination of ideas, both in content and in the technology used to deliver that message. The committee hopes that the recommended increases will be used to enable the Agency to play a greater role in promoting U.S. national security and a more forceful role in the ongoing war of ideas."[3]

After 15 years of declining budgets (measured in constant dollars) and personnel levels Congress, acting in response to an Administration request, appropriated a total of $578 million for FY 1983 for USIA, an increase of $82 million over the previous year. For FY 1984, the White House authorized a USIA request to Congress of $711 million.

In a year of severe budget restraints, Congress actually appropriated $660 million for USIA for FY 1984. (This includes $10 million for Radio Marti and $18 million for the National Endowment for Democracy, both new programs outside the Agency's traditional activities.) While considerably less than the Agency's request, it is nevertheless a solid increase over the previous year's budget. This Commission has long urged the expansion of USIA's resources. Consequently, we take much satisfaction from this action by the Congress which reflects a growing commitment to public diplomacy.

U.S. Information Agency Appropriations Salaries and Expenses, 1967-1984



*FY 1984 include $18 million for the National Endowment for Democracy and $10 million for Radio Marti.

Special Planning Group

In previous reports, this Commission also stated its conviction that public diplomacy is an indispensable element in our national security. We were heartened when President Reagan signed a National Security Decision Directive (NSDD 77)[4] to strengthen the organization, planning and coordination of public diplomacy activities.

NSDD 77 established a Special Planning Croup (SPG) responsible for the overall direction of a wide-ranging program of public diplomacy activities. It is chaired by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and consists of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of USIA, the Director of the Agency for International Development, and the Assistant to the President for Communications.

Four interagency standing committees operate under the guidance of the SPG:

The International Information Committee is chaired by a senior representative of USIA. A senior State Department officer serves as vice chairman. It is responsible for planning, coordinating and implementing international *information* activities in support of U.S. policies and national interests.

The International Political Committee is chaired by a senior representative of the Department of State. A senior officer of USIA serves as vice chairman. It is responsible for planning, coordinating and implementing international *political* activities in support of U.S. policies and national security interests.

It also plans activities to support the growth of democratic values and political institutions abroad, as proposed in the President's Westminster speech in London on June 8, 1982, and develops strategies to counter totalitarian ideologies.

[3] House Report No. 98-130, May 16, 1983.

[4] NSDD 77 is a classified document. Its substance was widely reported by the press and described in some detail to Senate and House Committees in open hearings on USIA's FY 1984 budget request. See *The New York Times*, January 20 and February 4, 1983.

White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III studies USIA's daily Foreign Media Reaction report.

The International Broadcasting Committee is responsible for the planning and coordination of international broadcasting activities sponsored by the U.S. Government, including the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The Public Affairs Committee is responsible for the planning and coordination of U.S. Government domestic public affairs activities relating to foreign policy and national security issues.

This rather complicated and interlocking committee structure is in place and functioning. The senior body, the SPG, met several times last year, and among other things directed the formation of a new interagency committee on arms control. The International Information and International Political Committees meet biweekly on alternate weeks. As one senior USIA official told the Commission: "We are beginning to sense that the government realizes that public diplomacy matters."

As a result of NSDD 77, a mechanism now exists that should make for more effective coordination in explaining and implementing U.S. foreign policies. It also ensures that the specialized resources and skills of USIA will play an important role in the process.

In its last report this Commission stated that "the Agency could perform a valuable and much-needed service by advising the government on the public presentation of its foreign policies and by actively participating in the coordination of administration statements announcing or explaining U.S. policies." This new interagency committee structure should permit that, and should help the U.S. Government to speak with one voice in foreign affairs. We see this as an important step forward.

Importance of Public Opinion

Advising and participating in the public presentation of foreign policies which have already been decided upon is a satisfactory solution to only part of the problem. As our previous report pointed out, "America's experiences in Vietnam, Iran, and now in Europe and Latin America show clearly that foreign cultures, attitudes, and opinions must routinely be taken seriously into account in *formulating* U.S. foreign policy" (emphasis added). A close reading of NSDD 77 reveals no intent to accord USIA a regular advisory role in the making of foreign policy. And from what we have been told by senior Agency officials, USIA is still rarely afforded the opportunity to participate in an advisory capacity when policies are being developed. The Agency's specialized knowledge and understanding of foreign cultures and attitudes, and its ability to survey attitudinal trends and measure foreign public opinion remain a sadly underutilized resource by our government.

An assessment of the probable reaction of foreign public opinion should be an integral part of every major foreign policy proposal or policy options study. USIA has the capability to provide this on a regular basis. We urge that it be used.

National Security Council

The Commission noted with satisfaction last year that USIA's role in the foreign affairs community had been substantially expanded through the energetic leadership of Director Charles Z. Wick. We stated our conviction that this more active role must be institutionalized to ensure the regular participation of the Agency in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy. That is still our conviction.

After a careful study of the various ways in which this might be accomplished, including a review of earlier reports and recommendations made by previous Commissions, the Comptroller General, members of Congress, and several ad hoc task forces appointed by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, we concluded, as they did, that USIA should participate regularly on the National Security Council. This does not necessarily require formal membership.

Membership on the Council is limited by law to the President, the Vice President, and the Secretaries of State and Defense. However, the legislation that created the NSC provided that it would have both members and advisors. The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have been designated statutory advisors. As a result, both regularly participate in the meetings of the NSC and, of equal or greater importance, in the NSC interagency working groups, for it is in these groups that the policy options are developed.

USIA already has a legal responsibility to serve as an advisor to the NSC. Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977 states:

"The Agency shall be headed by the Director . . . who shall serve as the principal advisor to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of State on the functions vested in the Director."

Thus, the law which created the Agency confers upon the Director of USIA the same advisory status with respect to the NSC as that of the Director of CIA and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Congressional intent is clear. The statute needs only to be implemented by a Presidential directive to formalize the Agency's role and designate the Director of USIA a statutory advisor to the NSC. The Commission recommends that this be done.

MEDIA AND PROGRAMS

Voice of America

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Commission believes it is urgent and essential that the U.S. do more to ensure that the Voice of America can deliver a strong, reliable signal worldwide.

- The Commission recommends that VOA give a higher priority to research and development on direct satellite broadcasting (DBS) technology.

- The Commission recommends that a Special Representative of the President with the rank of ambassador be appointed to coordinate U.S. Government activities relating to the negotiation of VOA transmitter site agreements.

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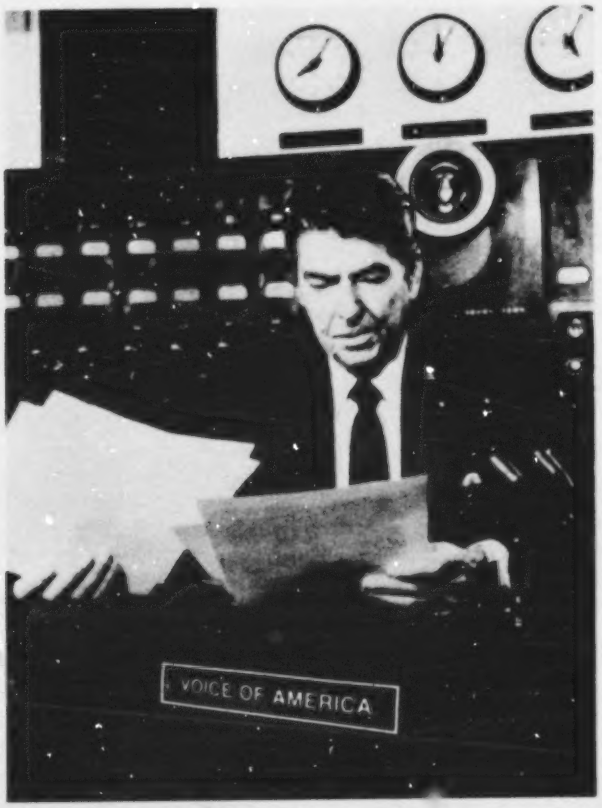


President Reagan, the first president since Dwight D. Eisenhower to broadcast live from VOA, addresses a worldwide audience.

The Voice of America is the international radio of the U.S. Government. VOA broadcasts news, balanced programs on American thought and culture, and explanations of U.S. policies worldwide to a regular weekly audience of more than 100 million listeners. With a current budget of approximately $150 million and a staff of almost 3,000, VOA is the largest and best known part of USIA.

As President Reagan noted in his radio address to the American people on the Korean Airlines tragedy:

"The truth is mankind's best hope for a better world. That's why in times like this, few assets are more important than the Voice of America and Radio Liberty, our primary means of getting the truth to the Russian people.

"Within minutes of the report of the Soviet destruction of the Korean jet, the Voice of America aired the story on its news programs around the globe. We made sure people in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe and, most important, the people in the Soviet Bloc itself knew the truth.

"Accurate news like this is about as welcome as the plague among the Soviet elite. The Soviets spend more to block Western broadcasts coming into those countries than the entire worldwide budget of the Voice of America."[1]

Because of VOA's importance to U.S. national security policy, the Commission has examined its activities and plans for the future with care. We are both pleased and concerned.

We are pleased because a historical pattern of neglect of this national resource has been arrested and hopefully reversed. A recent National Security Council review of the government's international broadcasting capabilities led to a Presidential commitment to modernize VOA's antiquated and obsolete facilities and to expand and significantly improve its language services and geographic coverage.

[1]Radio Address of the President to the Nation, September 10, 1983.

This commitment, which takes into account past recommendations of this Commission, the General Accounting Office and others, has found resonance among responsible members of Congress in both parties. Increased public awareness of VOA's needs is helping to shape a consensus of support for needed improvements.

VOA Program Developments

The Commission is also encouraged by a number of recent program developments at the Voice.

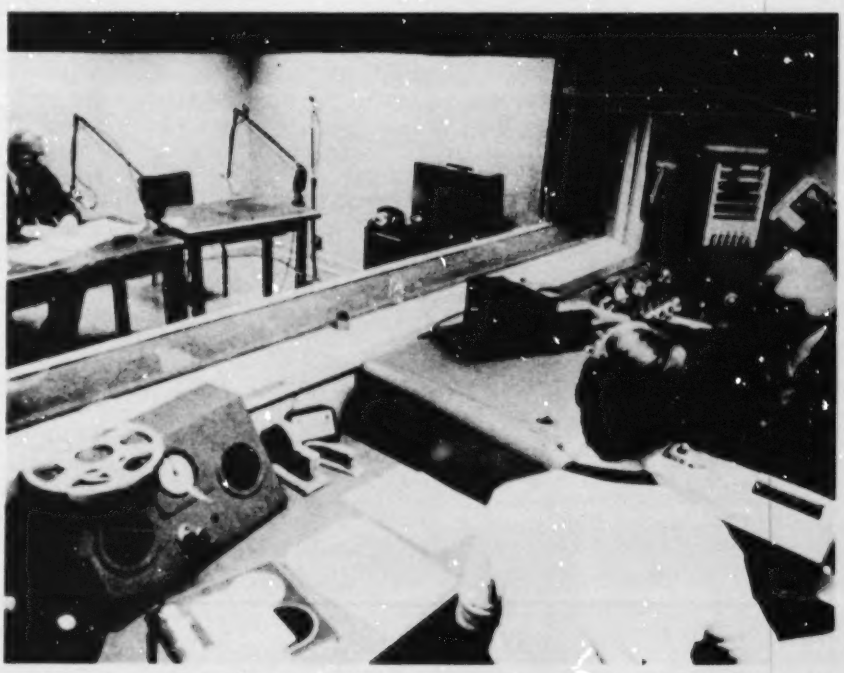
Three new language services have been established—Amharic (Ethiopia), Azerbaijani (Soviet Union), and Pashto (Afghanistan)—bringing the total number of VOA languages to 42. The Pashto Service, together with Dari and Farsi, gives VOA direct radio access to all major population groups in Afghanistan. VOA's Polish broadcasting has increased from 2½ to 7 hours daily.

Daily VOA editorials, now broadcast on all language services, explain and advocate official government policies. The Commission finds this to be a positive development. Lively and vigorous, the editorials provide a welcome new format for carrying out VOA's statutory obligation to "present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively."

VOA is improving its program review process. Coherent program and production procedures are being instituted for the first time for all language services. Higher standards for news content, format, and general broadcast practices are being established.

The introduction of computer technology, long considered essential in the news rooms of America's commercial media, has substantially improved the speed, productivity, and accuracy of VOA's news operations.

An office of audience relations has been created to increase analysis of listener mail and overseas awareness of VOA. With the Commission's encouragement, VOA is for the first time publishing an audience magazine. The new bimonthly periodical, called *Voice*, includes VOA program guides and feature articles that amplify and make more understandable major VOA program themes. The Commission urges Congress to pass legislation permitting this publication to be sold within the United States.



VOA broadcasts more than 320 newscasts in 42 regularly scheduled languages twenty-four hours a day. Daily editorials contain statements of U.S. policy.

And the separate VOA personnel office established in 1980 has done much to upgrade the quality of recruitment and personnel administration.

In its 1982 report, the Commission recommended that USIA take greater care to avoid actions and policies that can be easily misinterpreted and cast doubt on VOA's commitment to accuracy and objectivity. Substantial progress has been made. Leadership continuity and increased emphasis on broadcasting professionalism have helped put to rest the fears of some that VOA's credibility is being damaged. The Commission is aware of no evidence that VOA's statutory obligation to broadcast news that is "accurate, objective, and comprehensive" has been compromised.

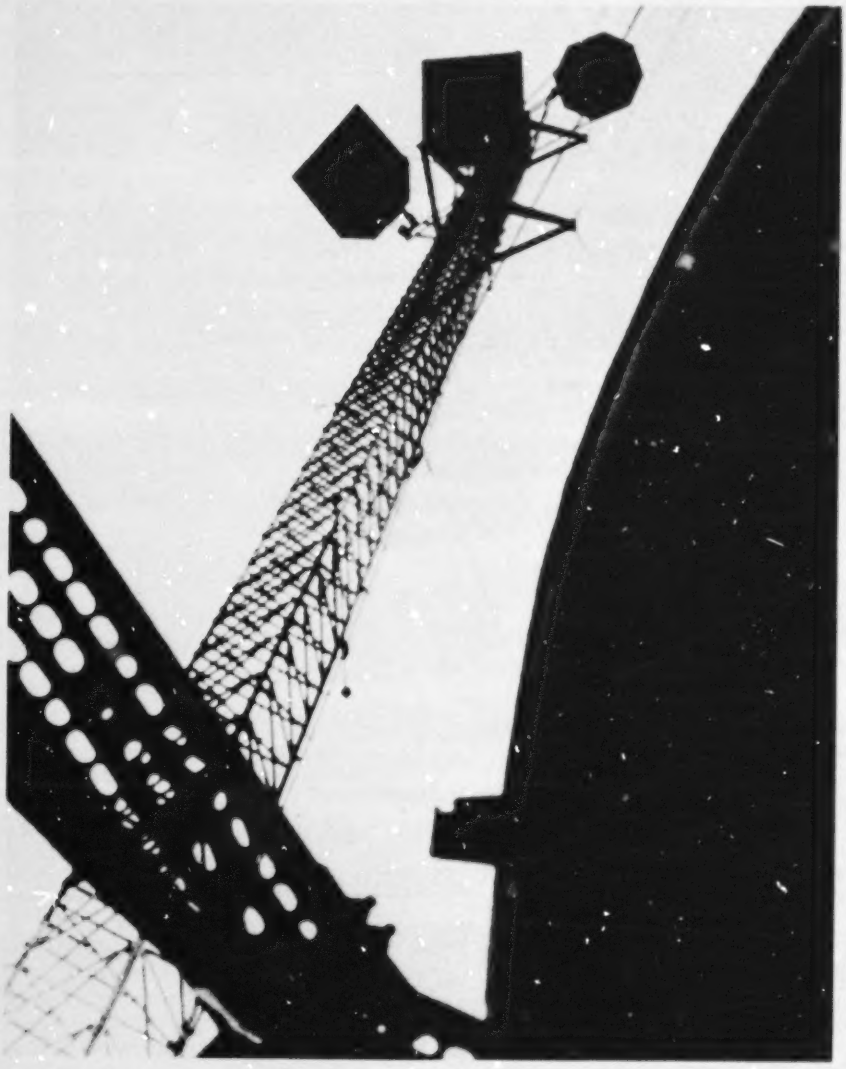
VOA Modernization

These are all welcome developments. At the same time, improvements in programming and administration avail little if VOA is unable to deliver a strong, reliable signal worldwide.

The Commission is concerned that the U.S. is still doing far less than it can to ensure that the Voice of America becomes and remains technologically competitive. In President Reagan's words: "We are as far behind the Soviets and their allies in international broadcasting today as we were in space when they launched Sputnik in 1957."[2]

More than 35 percent of VOA's transmitters are 30 years old or older. Some equipment predates World War II. Overseas, VOA uses up to 250 KW transmitters only, whereas there are now 96 "superpower" 500 KW transmitters in use by other countries with more under construction. Some 123 countries now broadcast in shortwave.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.



and a crowded high frequency spectrum makes it increasingly difficult for VOA to deliver a signal that can be easily heard. Soviet jamming compounds the problem.

The Commission appreciates the political and technological difficulties of modernizing in a highly competitive international broadcasting environment at a time when budget constraints exist and communications technology is changing rapidly. VOA wisely began the task by commissioning a series of preliminary engineering studies covering antenna systems, technical transmission requirements, worldwide power generation requirements, station characteristics and locations, and a worldwide operations center and network control. The absence of such long-range planning in the past led to piecemeal projects, numerous delays, major project changes, and extensive budgetary reprogramming.

In the Commission's view, the economic and technical decisions underlying VOA modernization ought to be guided by four fundamental principles.

Redundancy and Dispersal of Facilities

Conventional shortwave broadcasting, according to recent estimates, will be VOA's primary medium of communication for the foreseeable future.

Most experts agree that transmitters in the U.S. alone cannot send a competitive signal to much of Europe and Asia or to parts of Africa and South America. To supplement its U.S. transmitters, VOA maintains 16 stations around the world to relay shortwave and some medium wave signals. This network, which has a current replacement value of about $2 billion, has serious deficiencies. In critical areas of the world VOA can be heard only with difficulty, if at all. VOA's construction program seeks to address these needs.

Overseas transmitter sites, however, are vulnerable. Political uncertainties and the possibility of sabotage are risk factors that must inform VOA's decision-making. Back-up transmission sites, redundant facilities, contingency plans, augmented U.S. transmitter capability, and new flexible antenna technology are essential if the U.S. is to cope adequately with the problem of vulnerability.

The Commission is aware that this approach is costly. But it is founded on the reasonable premise that national security, not broadcasting economy, should govern the decisions of Congress and the Executive Branch.

Alternative Technologies

The Commission is persuaded that VOA must vigorously explore a variety of approaches to delivering its signal.

Superpower 500 KW transmitters are one approach to modernization, and many countries have adopted it. The Soviet Union now has more than 30 such transmitters. West Germany has nine. Even countries such as Gabon and Libya have four each. It may be that the U.S. should construct some 500 KW transmitters. The Commission finds persuasive, however, arguments that simply increasing transmitter power is not the only answer to VOA's needs.

A recent MIT study suggests the cost of using 500 KW transmitters is high, with the newest using about 40 to 56 percent more power than comparable 250 KW transmitters.[3] Technical and safety problems also increase with higher voltage output. The MIT study concludes that an alternative way to obtain higher power is to use an array of multiple transmitters and multiple antennas to produce a single broadcast beam. New antenna technology also permits selective increases in signal levels and focused broadcasting to high population and crisis areas.

VOA should make every effort to increase retransmission of its programs

[3]John E. Ward, Ithiel De Sola Pool, and Richard J. Solomon, "A Study of Future Directions for the Voice of America in the Changing World of International Broadcasting," MIT Research Program on Communications Policy, April 25, 1983.

by FM, medium wave, and cable where local conditions permit. Packaged programs, land line feeds, and direct satellite broadcasting for retransmission to receivers located in selected local medium wave stations are options that should be vigorously pursued. VOA should also take greater advantage of the worldwide expansion in audio cassettes by increasing direct distribution of VOA cassettes as well as making them available to broadcasters and cablecasters.

The Commission is also convinced of the importance of developing and marketing improved HF receivers. Research in the design of high quality, economical shortwave receivers should be encouraged.

Finally, the Commission believes that VOA must give a higher priority to research and development on direct satellite broadcasting (DBS). USIA's recent contract with NASA to begin exploratory studies of this option is a useful but modest first step. Decisions at ITU Administrative Radio Conferences in the coming years will greatly influence adaptation to DBS technology. The U.S. must take care that it is well prepared for and adequately represented at these conferences. And while the U.S. should be prepared to think in terms of shared channels and common carrier approaches that will assure opportunities to other broadcasters all such discussions must be viewed in the context of the essential right of VOA to broadcast without censorship or regulation.

Automation

Much of what VOA now does manually can be automated. A start has been made in the editing and distribution of news and other program materials. Frequency scheduling and the determination of broadcast schedules is another important VOA function which is labor intensive and involves the prediction of propagation patterns six to eight months in advance. Better signal monitoring and measurement combined with more advanced computer-based scheduling would permit short-term frequency adjustments to day-to-day conditions. The Commission believes VOA should make the automation of frequency scheduling a high priority.

VOA should also explore the possibilities of station automation. Completely automated, unattended sites may not be desirable given security, fuel, and remote site maintenance considerations, but VOA should look carefully at the cost-benefits to be derived from increased automation.

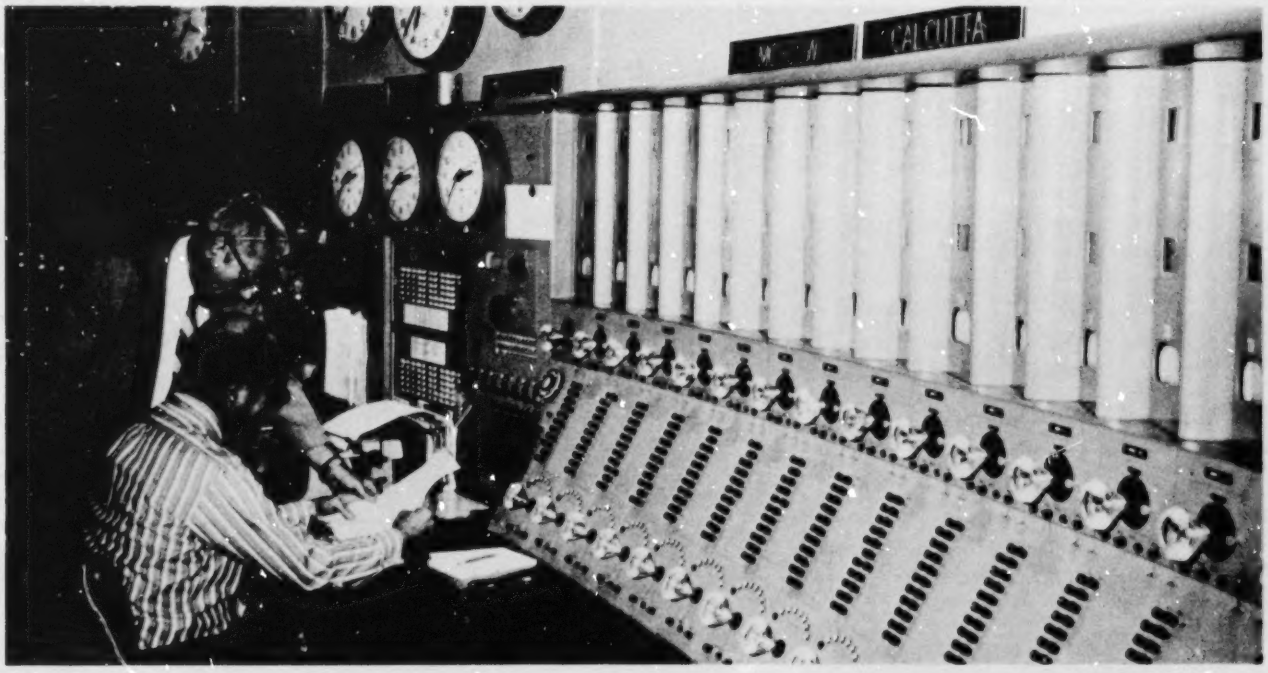
Site Negotiations

The importance to VOA's modernization plans of successful bilateral negotiations with foreign governments cannot be understated. The need to renew existing relay station agreements occurs periodically. The U.S. is currently negotiating agreements with the governments of Greece, Botswana, and Sri Lanka. VOA is seeking Congressional authorization for additional sites in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, the Western Mediterranean, the Far East, Europe, and the Caribbean.

The stakes are high. Foreign governments are aware that real estate is essential to U.S. international broadcasting, and demands are made accordingly. VOA has operated in Greece since 1979 without a renewal agreement. Negotiations for additional facilities in Sri Lanka have been long and difficult.

The Commission is concerned that while the importance of site negotiations has been recognized by senior officials responsible for U.S. national security policy, the staffing and carrying out of these negotiations has not been given the priority they deserve. The appointment of a senior USIA career officer as Special Coordinator for International Negotiations is a start in the right direction. Given the magnitude of the task, however, the Commission recommends that a Special Representative of the President with the rank of ambassador be appointed to oversee all activities of the U.S. Government with respect to the negotiation of international transmitter site agreements for the Voice of America.

A VOA correspondent talks with Pope John Paul II and a member of the Vatican Secretariat.



VOA's master control panel in Washington directs programs to transmitters for worldwide broadcast. Much of VOA's equipment is outdated, some of it World War II vintage.

The Commission is sympathetic to the magnitude of the modernization tasks facing the Voice of America. VOA's announced plans are to seek and spend $1.5 billion during the next six years on the modernization of its broadcasting facilities. Planning, research and development are essential to doing the job wisely, but in our view it is time to move quickly to the "bricks and mortar" before audiences are lost to more aggressive competitors. We urge the Congress to grant the resources that are needed and at the same time to be probing in its oversight to see that they are spent well.

Radio Marti

Compromise legislation that for the first time places a surrogate broadcasting service within the Voice of America was signed into law on October 4, 1983. The legislation establishes Radio Marti, a Cuba Service within VOA to be administered separately from other VOA functions for the primary purpose of broadcasting news *about Cuba* to Cuba.[4]

Radio Marti's mission will differ significantly from VOA's historic mission, which is to broadcast news about the U.S. and world events, information about significant American thought and institutions, and statements of official U.S. policy. The head of Radio Marti will report directly to the Director of USIA and the Director of the Voice of America.

The Commission believes the decision to put Radio Marti in the Voice of America is questionable public policy. It sets a precedent of uncertain consequence that could cast doubt on VOA's most important and fragile asset—its credibility.

In saying this, we do not mean to suggest that Radio Marti will necessarily be any less dedicated to truth and objectivity than VOA. The purposes of surrogate broadcasting, however, differ a great deal from those of the radio voice of the U.S. Government. And these purposes are perceived very differently throughout the world. The appropriate organizational location for Radio Marti is with Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under the Board for International Broadcasting.

The Commission is persuaded that the intent of Congress is that VOA's Charter not be compromised, that Radio Marti meet the highest standards of accuracy and objectivity, and that it not become the voice of any single segment of American society.[5]

The Commission intends to monitor closely the implementation of the legislation and the activities of Radio Marti and its Advisory Board with a view toward maintaining a strong, credible and highly professional Voice of America.

[4]P.L. 98-111, The Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act. The Act provides that the programs of the Cuba Service are to be designated "Voice of America: Cuba Service" or "Voice of America: Radio Marti Program."

[5]See Appendix I.

Television Service

President Reagan films an exclusive message for worldwide distribution by USIA.

Of all the media used by USIA, television has the greatest potential popular appeal and is perhaps the most powerful means of communicating with foreign audiences when it is used well.

Until recently, however, television was something of a stepchild in USIA. The Agency was uncertain as to how to use it or even where it belonged (it has at times been awkwardly attached to the Voice of America). There was an urgent need, as this Commission pointed out last year, for a qualified professional to direct the Television and Film Service. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that television has been slow to develop its potential within the Agency.

This is now changing. The Commission is encouraged by progress already achieved and efforts to make more extensive and effective use of this powerful medium. An experienced television professional was brought in as director of the Service which was subsequently made a separate element of the Agency, giving it the prominence it deserves.

One of the first changes of the new management was the introduction of marketing concepts to attack a basic problem: how to get the product shown. Whereas VOA broadcasts directly to its listeners, television programs must be filtered through the managers and editors of foreign television stations. In the future, it may be possible for USIA to telecast directly into homes, but now it is necessary to offer a product that can compete for time in the highly competitive, sophisticated world of international television broadcasting. A new marketing division hopes to accomplish this by employing basic research, market segmentation, audience evaluation and careful planning.

Satellite File

Efforts are also being made to develop new distribution outlets for USIA's television products. An interesting innovation with much promise is the weekly Satellite File, a half-hour reel of short news and features. This is fed from the Agency's Washington studios to two commercial international TV news services which include this material in their own files. It then is transmitted to some 275 stations in 80 countries around the world. Copies of the Satellite File are also hand-delivered to a number of Washington-based foreign TV correspondents who incorporate some of the clips in reports to their home stations.

Tracking the use of Satellite File programs is proving to be difficult. They are apparently being used with some regularity in Latin America and the Far East, but infrequently so far in Europe where the members of the European Broadcasting Union have been reluctant to use USIA material. Nevertheless, the Satellite File has become a worldwide product. Slightly more than a million dollars was spent on the File in FY 1983, and $3.4 million has been requested for FY 1984.

The Satellite File is an excellent concept. Whether it can break into the European market, or whether its usage in other areas will be great enough to make it cost-effective remains to be seen. The effort is encouraging, and the Commission will follow this experiment with interest.

Foreign TV Press

During the past year cooperative productions and facilitative assistance have assumed increasing importance. The Co-production Unit has tripled in size. It assists visiting foreign television teams in covering news events and producing documentaries on politics, economics, defense, science and the arts. European stations, which seldom use USIA-produced material, welcome the Agency's cooperation in producing their own. The Unit responds to an average of 12 requests per week from foreign producers for facilitative assistance.

Television is also being effectively used by the Agency's Foreign Press Centers, whose potential importance for explaining U.S. policies to foreign audiences has finally been realized. At Director Wick's invitation, senior Administration policy-makers now routinely come to press centers in Washington, New York and Los Angeles to brief the foreign press corps on U.S. views and policies. The Agency has assigned experienced producers, with minicam crews on call, to assist the foreign TV press. They provide video pool coverage of "on-the-record" press briefings, arrange for and record one-on-one TV interviews with high-level officials on current issues, arrange for stock footage and research, and offer reels of short news clips on important subjects to correspondents for use on foreign news programs.

Interviews are also videotaped at USIA's studios when more elaborate sets or arrangements are required: for example, a video dialogue between Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in Washington and European correspondents at NATO headquarters in Brussels. Special interviews by foreign correspondents were also videotaped with Secretary of Agriculture John Block,

A videotape, using the voices of Soviet pilots involved in the Korean Airlines tragedy, is shown to a meeting of the UN Security Council. USIA produced the videotape for this historic first use of television in the Security Council chamber.

Special Trade Representative William Brock, Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam and Dr. Henry Kissinger, among many others.

All of President Reagan's major policy speeches have been transmitted by satellite. USIA also played a major role in assisting the foreign press at the Williamsburg Summit. And prior to Vice President Bush's trips to Europe and North Africa, the Agency taped press conferences with the Vice President and members of the foreign press. These were followed with a series of one-on-one interviews with journalists from the countries he was to visit. The interviews were then sent by satellite to guarantee timely arrival.

The result of these efforts is more accurate information about the United States, its policies and political processes, presented in the news and documentary television programs of foreign countries.

Following the shooting down of the Korean airliner, the Television Service, working around the clock, prepared videotapes using the voices of the Soviet pilots. These were shown on monitors in the United Nations Security Council chamber during Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's dramatic debate with the Soviet Ambassador—the first use of television in a UN Security Council meeting. The historic and extremely effective presentation was featured prominently by U.S. and foreign TV networks to an audience of many millions. The Commission commends USIA for its initiative in this innovative use of the medium.

To take advantage of advances in communications technology, the Television Service has undergone extensive technical modernization. It now has complete compatibility with international television standards and enhanced program flexibility. It has acquired in-house capability to convert U.S. videotapes to different world commercial standards. For an initial investment of $53,000 in conversion equipment, the Agency and the American taxpayer now save more than $150,000 per year in outside contracts.

Calling it "one heck of a conference call," President Reagan engages in a three-way conversation arranged by USIA via Euronet satellite with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl (visiting in Athens) and members of the first multi-national space shuttle crew.

Euronet

In November 1983, the Agency inaugurated "Euronet," a one-way video, two-way audio link via commercial satellite and European ground stations with five embassies in Western Europe. Other embassies will soon be added to the net. This provides four hours of direct satellite broadcasting each week, putting U.S. spokesmen and policymakers in direct contact with embassy officers, host country officials, and opinion makers.

The first transmission was made soon after troops from the U.S. and six Caribbean countries went into Grenada. The Prime Ministers from Barbados and St. Lucia and Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick spoke from USIA studios. They then answered questions from journalists gathered in American Embassies in five European capitals. Excerpts were shown that evening on TV news programs in all five countries.

Euronet permits live transmission of Presidential press conferences and speeches, press briefings from the State Department and the Foreign Press Centers, as well as the instantaneous delivery of USIA films, the TV Satellite File, and other material.

Next year, through an agreement with NASA and the Departments of State and Defense, the Agency hopes to be able to broadcast via a NASA satellite to dish antennas placed on most American Embassies in western Europe. This will permit longer direct transmissions and obviate the use of local land lines. Judging from the experience thus far, Euronet promises to be a flexible and powerful communications tool.

USIA is entering a new and creative television era. The Commission commends the Agency for the leadership, initiative, and enthusiastic innovation demonstrated in its use of this medium.

Project Democracy

Project Democracy was a major multi-agency programming initiative designed to advocate the principles of democracy abroad and support people and organizations committed to the development of democratic institutions. Its origins lie in President Reagan's Westminster speech to the British Parliament on June 8, 1982 when he promised the United States would engage in a significant new effort to:

". . . foster the infrastructure of democracy—the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities—which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means."

Project Democracy was presented to the Congress on February 23, 1983 by Secretary of State George Shultz. Its principal components include: (1) leadership training in the skills of democracy, (2) educational exchanges to increase mutual understanding, (3) programs to strengthen the institutions of democracy, (4) meetings and publications to convey ideas and information, and (5) development of institutional and personal ties between groups here and abroad.

Separately, but with Administration encouragement through an AID study grant, an alternative approach to the objective of strengthening democratic values and institutions abroad was presented to the Congress by the bipartisan American Political Foundation. This initiative, labeled "The Democracy Program," recommended that Congress create a private, independent non-profit corporation to be called the National Endowment for Democracy.[1] The Endowment would not administer programs but would provide funds to private sector groups. As originally conceived, principal recipients of Endowment funding would be institutes created by the Republican and Democratic parties, the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute, and the Chamber of Commerce's Center for International Private Enterprise.

The Commission supports the objectives of both Project Democracy and the National Endowment for Democracy. A renewed commitment by the U.S. Government and American private sector organizations to the goal of encouraging democratic values and institutions abroad is very much in the national interest.

At the same time, the Commission is troubled by elements of both approaches.

Considerable confusion and misunderstanding characterized efforts to explain Project Democracy. It was not effectively communicated to the Congress or to the American people. The name itself suggests a new mandate for USIA, when most of what was intended was enhancement of proven Agency information and educational and cultural exchange programs. It is a disservice to place Agency programs under a label that gives rise to public suspicion and misunderstanding—a label that also provides critical foreign observers with the opportunity to make damaging interpretations of the programs themselves.

The Commission has no intrinsic objections to USIA's undertaking new initiatives so long as they are in keeping with the Agency's statutory authorities. USIA should do so cautiously, however, taking care to keep appropriate Congressional committees fully informed.

The National Endowment for Democracy was approved by Congress in November, 1983.[2] Congress appropriated $18 million in USIA's FY 1984 budget for the Endowment. The Endowment's goals, as we understand them, are unobjectionable. Moreover, the Commission believes strongly that the pluralism of American society provides scope for initiative, motivation, innovation, and communication that adds appreciably to what can be accomplished through government programs alone. It may be that a new quasi-public organization with its own separate staff can help to develop a stronger partnership between government and private

[1] Members of the National Endowment for Democracy's Board of Directors include Polly Baca Barragan, William E. Brock III, Legree Daniels, Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., Dante B. Fascell, Lane Kirkland, Charles Manatt, Louis Martin, John Richardson, Olin Robison, Albert Shanker, Jay Van Andel, Sally Shelton, and Charles H. Smith, Jr.

[2] P.L. 98-164, November 22, 1983.

organizations in long-term democratic institution-building.

It should be remembered, however, that USIA and AID have for more than a generation worked successfully with academic institutions, private foundations, trade unions, civic organizations and professional associations. The relationship has achieved public objectives without undercutting private initiative and professional independence. And in those programs where academic integrity is essential—such as the Fulbright scholarship program—USIA has maintained multiple grant relationships with private organizations while preserving immunity to short-term fluctuations in U.S. foreign policy.

The Commission believes that Congress in time should look carefully at this legislation to determine whether most if not all of the Endowment's activities could be accomplished through grants made directly to private organizations by existing agencies of government. If another organizational filter for the purpose of channeling appropriated funds to private groups does not on full examination prove to be unnecessary, the Commission believes the Congress should take care to ensure that the Endowment's activities complement existing government programs and promote the long-term interests of the United States. For its part, the Commission too will carefully assess the activities of the Endowment in keeping with its legislative history and the Commission's USIA oversight responsibilities.[3]

[3] An oversight relationship between this Commission and the National Endowment for Democracy was discussed in a colloquy in the House of Representatives between Reps. Dante B. Fascell and Benjamin A. Gilman. Rep. Fascell stated: *"There is certainly an appropriate role for the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy in assessing the activities of the National Endowment for Democracy. . . . I believe that the Commission can, consistent with its charter, contribute usefully to the oversight of the Endowment and its relationship with USIA. The Commission's role would be advisory and in the exercise of its oversight would have no authority or operational responsibilities with respect to the Endowment. However, I believe that Commission oversight will help to maintain the broad bipartisan support and national consensus that will be essential to success."* Congressional Record, November 17, 1983, pp. H 10331-2.

RECOMMENDATION

■ The Commission recommends that the staff and budget of the Office of Research be increased substantially to provide the research capability required for national security and foreign policy needs and for the regular and methodical evaluation of Agency programs and products.

The Director of USIA is required by Executive Order to provide the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of State with "assessments of the impact of actual and proposed United States foreign policy decisions on public opinion abroad."[1] To the extent that its limited resources permit, the Agency's Office of Research does conduct surveys and analyses of foreign public reaction to current U.S. policies. It also studies the perceptions and attitudes of influential groups toward the U.S.

These studies have been widely used and praised by the White House, the NSC, and the Departments of State and Defense. To date, however, they have focused mainly on assessing public reaction in Western Europe and Japan to existing U.S. security policies and on the problems of implementing them. To our knowledge, USIA has rarely been a participant in those councils or interdepartmental groups where new policies or options are developed. Nor has it been asked to assess the impact of *proposed* foreign policy decisions as called for by the Executive Order.

In the Commission's view, the Agency's research capability is a highly valuable, if underutilized, resource which can provide insights into foreign attitudes that should be an integral part of both executive and Congressional foreign policy deliberations.

Recently a new interagency group, the Foreign Opinion Research Advisory committee (FORA), was approved by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. It was established to coordinate and commission quantitative and qualitative studies of foreign opinion in support of the public diplomacy initiatives undertaken by the NSC's International Information Committee,[2] with emphasis on engendering foreign public support for U.S. policies. FORA is composed of representatives of USIA, the Departments of State and Defense and USAID. It is chaired by an officer from the NSC.

This is an encouraging, although thus far modest, development. FORA has no budget and a staff of only one officer. If supported and used, however, it should prove useful in identifying common information needs of the various U.S. Government agencies dealing with foreign affairs. It could also achieve better dissemination and use of research data, and involvement of the various agencies in the research process. It could produce some savings through elimination of duplicate research efforts and through resource-sharing. And it could help to institutionalize the central role of USIA's opinion research in the foreign policy process. The Commission will watch its activities and results with interest.

In its last two reports, this Commission observed that staff and funding levels for research were inadequate and should be substantially increased. The NSC has indicated that it agrees. Meeting with this Commission, senior NSC officers expressed their belief that resources for research should be approximately doubled. Research did receive a modest increase in FY 1983 (approximately $130,000), and we were pleased to note that FY 1984 appropriations included $4.1 million for research, an increase of $991,000 over the previous year. This is encouraging, but it will

[1] Executive Order 12048, March 27, 1978.

[2] See p. 13 of this report.

Exhibits

still not provide the research capability the Commission believes is required.

The Commission also recommended the Office of Research play a more active and systematic role in evaluating the effectiveness of Agency products and programs, including VOA. We recognized that this would require additional funding and personnel. The Office of Research does, of course, conduct occasional surveys of VOA listeners in various foreign countries to determine audience size and preferences. It also has made studies of communication/media habits in a few key countries. These are of considerable value to USIS posts in their planning, and should be done more frequently and include every priority country. But these modest efforts fall considerably short of the comprehensive approach to program evaluation that USIA needs.

We understand that the Office of Research plans—contingent upon the availability of funds—to reestablish a separate media research staff to carry out research for new VOA listener outreach initiatives, to study the impact and effectiveness of the exchange programs, and to begin the systematic evaluation of Agency media products. Such evaluation and impact studies would be invaluable to Agency program planners and resource managers. We commend these new plans. We hope the Agency will accord them a high priority and that Congress will appropriate the necessary funds. A substantially increased research budget would serve the national interest.

RECOMMENDATION

■ The Commission recommends that USIA strengthen American cultural and political presence through an expanded exhibits program in Western Europe and the Third World.

USIA's Exhibits Service produces an average of thirteen major exhibits a year. The Agency participates in international trade fairs and special international promotions, and it produces and distributes smaller displays in multiple copies for USIS posts. USIA is responsible, too, for official U.S. national exhibitions at International Expositions. For example, $8.5 million has been appropriated for U.S. participation at International Expo '85 to be held in Tsukuba, Japan.

The Commission finds the rationale for exhibits persuasive. Attendance at major exhibits ranges from the tens of thousands to occasional audiences of more than one million. A single Expo can draw as many as 20 million visitors. In the provincial cities of Eastern Europe and in the past, in the Soviet Union, exhibits with language-qualified American guides have provided many with their only first-hand exposure to the United States and to American citizens.

Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the United States stopped sending exhibitions and other cultural presentations to the Soviet Union. Recent efforts to negotiate a cultural agreement with the Soviet Union, which would include a major exhibit, have been sidetracked as a result of the shooting down of the Korean airliner. The Commission understands the logic of these decisions, but anticipates the day when Soviet attitudes will permit resumption of more normal cultural relations. The U.S. has much to gain from the exposure to American life that major exhibits can bring to the Soviet people.

The Commission is also persuaded there is much to be gained by mounting exhibits in Western and developing countries. For example, the recent success of USIA's American theater exhibit in Athens, at a time when sensitive base negotiations were taking place, demonstrated to members of the Commission that exhibits can make a powerful political and cultural statement in non-Communist countries where the U.S. has vital interests. The Commission recommends that USIA strengthen American cultural and political presence through an expanded exhibits program in Western Europe and the Third World.

American agricultural achievements are shown in this USIA-produced exhibit seen by thousands in the provincial cities of Eastern Europe.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS

Exchanges and International Visitors

This Commission has long regarded USIA's educational exchange and international visitors programs to be among the most effective tools of public diplomacy. They serve the long-term security interests of the United States by promoting mutual understanding between Americans and the citizens of other countries and by exposing foreign scholars and leaders to American institutions and values. In our last report we expressed our concern over the steady decline in resources allotted to these programs, and we recommended that they be materially strengthened.

We are pleased to note that this decline has been reversed. The Pell Amendment to USIA's FY 1983 authorization legislation, for example, sought to double, through annual increases, the size of the FY 1982 budget for exchanges by FY 1986. Director Wick has declared his wholehearted support for this amendment. For FY 1984, Congress has appropriated $92.9 million for the Fulbright program, the Hubert H. Humphrey North-South Fellowship program, Congressional-German Bundestag sponsored youth exchanges, and the International Visitors program—an increase of $15.7 million over the FY 1983 figure. Congress has authorized even higher funding levels for FY 1985.

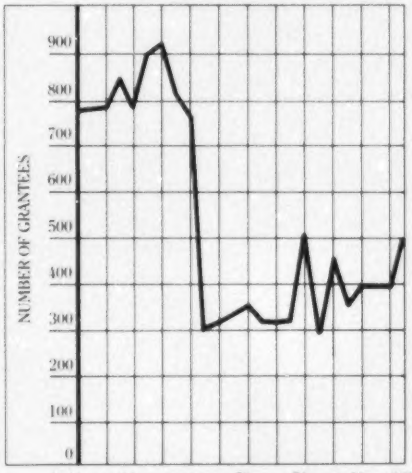
The decrease in the *number* of educational exchanges and international visitors was also a matter of concern to the Commission. From a high point of 904 Americans studying abroad on Fulbright grants in 1966-67, the number fell to 364 by 1980-81. The number rose to 395 in 1981-82 and stayed about the same in 1982-83. With the new budget, however, the number of American Fulbright scholars is expected to be well over 500. Foreign and private sector contributions to the Fulbright program last year—more than $100 million—were substantially greater than government-provided funds.

The International Visitors (IV) program, which brings young foreign leaders to the U.S. for visits of a few weeks, has followed a similar pattern. The number of IV grantees in 1978 was 2,171. Allotted funds did not keep up with inflation or rising costs, however, and by 1981 that number had fallen to 1,579. In response to appeals from ambassadors and USIS posts overseas, funds were increased; 1,732 young leaders visited this country in FY 1982, and 1,974 grantees came in FY 1983. The FY 1984 appropriation will result in a further increase in a program that this Commission, and many ambassadors with whom we have talked, believe is one of the most effective foreign affairs efforts conducted by the U.S. Government.

The Hubert H. Humphrey North-South Fellowship program awarded 125 grants in FY 1983 to mid-career professionals in public service from developing countries for one year of non-degree study and practical courses. An increase of $560,000 over the FY 1982 budget of $3.2 million will permit an expansion of this program.

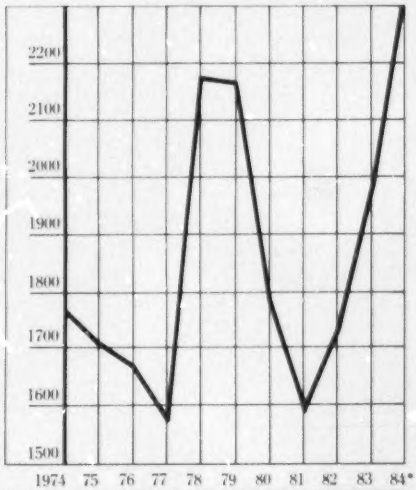
The FY 1984 authorization provided that $2.5 million be used to fund a new

American Fulbright Grantees, 1960-1984



* 15-month transition year when USG changed fiscal year
** Projection

International Visitors Program—Number of Participants, 1974-1984



*Projection

Workshops conducted by American artists are an integral part of USIA's cultural programs.

youth exchange program jointly sponsored by the Congress and the German Bundestag as part of the President's International Youth Exchange Initiative.

Indicating the Agency's dedication to these programs and its desire to improve them, the Director has created an advisory panel on International Educational Exchange. Composed of 12 prominent educators, foundation executives and other private sector representatives, the panel was formed to "suggest means of strengthening exchange programs vital to the national interest."

At an early meeting of the panel, Director Wick explained his view of the importance and purpose of exchanges:

"This commitment to exchange programs demonstrates a broad-based understanding that they serve a vital national interest. We simply cannot do without the link that they provide us to significant levels of the thinking leadership of the world. The Fulbright program is not a national luxury. It is a national imperative that must be attended to."

The panel is expected to make a preliminary report early in 1984

Press and Congressional criticism of a few controversial grants made by the Agency's Office of Private Sector Programs has provoked fears that the educational exchange programs might in turn be "politicized" and their scholarly integrity impaired.[1] The Commission has discussed these concerns with a number of Agency officials. Individual Commissioners have talked with chairmen of binational Fulbright commissions abroad as well as USIS Cultural Affairs Officers. We have also talked with members and staff of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, whose mandate is to monitor the administration of the academic exchange programs, and with representatives of non-governmental organizations in the U.S. engaged in carrying out USIA's exchange programs. Throughout our inquiries, we found no reason to doubt that the scholarly integrity and nonpolitical character of the peer review process by which the educational exchange grants are awarded is being respected and maintained.

USIA's FY 1984 authorization bill included for the first time a charter for the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs analogous to the VOA Charter. According to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee report, the purpose of the charter is "to insure that the scholarly integrity, the excellence and the non-political character of these programs are maintained." The Committee added that "The effectiveness of these programs can be seriously undermined if they are perceived as a short-term exercise in promoting a particular viewpoint."

It was, we suspect, the controversy over the private sector grants that moved Congress to legislate a charter for the Bureau. There were even some suggestions that the Bureau should be transferred from USIA back to the Department of State, to another government agency, or to a private foundation.

The Commission does not question the idea of a charter for educational and cultural affairs. We are disturbed, however, by the suggestion that USIA should be reorganized again when it has only recently adjusted to the thoroughgoing reorganization of 1977. Furthermore, we see no reason for such a change.

The exchange programs are operating well. They are expanding, and we have found no evidence that their integrity has been in any way impaired or compromised. The Agency accords a high priority to the exchange programs and is committed to safeguarding and strengthening them.

Finally, it was awkward in the past and would be again to have the exchange programs directed in Washington by one agency and carried out overseas by officers of another agency. We would point out that wherever these programs are located in Washington, they will continue to be administered overseas by career USIA foreign service officers. They will continue to be looked at in terms of their overall contribution to the long-term foreign policy goals of the United States. And the U.S. share of the programs will continue to come largely from appropriated funds.

The Commission is convinced that the proper place for the educational exchange programs is where they are right now—within USIA.

[1] See p. 27 of this Report.

USIA's "Arts America" program administers the overseas performing and fine arts programs of the U.S. Government. Here native American dancers perform for a foreign audience.

University Affiliations

In 1983, USIA began the first year of the worldwide University Affiliation Program, following initial pilot linkage projects in specific geographic areas. This program seeks to bring closer ties between U.S. and foreign colleges and universities through exchanges of faculty for as short a period as three weeks and as long as a year.

Grants of $50,000 or less were awarded to 29 university partnerships and will be spent over the next two to three years. These faculty exchanges focus on the social sciences, humanities, communications and education. The institutions receiving grants in 1983 ranged from community colleges to Ivy League schools and included state colleges and universities throughout the United States.

USIS posts in countries where university affiliations exist are enthusiastic about them and hope to see the program expanded. The Commission views this as a logical extension of existing academic exchange programs and a commendable new initiative.

Enduring cross cultural ties with foreign nationals are maintained by American Fulbright scholars who study, teach and conduct research abroad on grants funded by USIA.

Private Sector Programs

Recommendations

- The Commission recommends that Congress not extend the requirement that it be notified fifteen days in advance of all USIA program grants.
- The Commission recommends that USIA seek and encourage promising new organizations to participate in its grant programs. Effective traditionally-funded organizations, subject to careful scrutiny and periodic review, should continue to play a central role in multiplying what can be accomplished through government programs.

USIA's Office of Private Sector Programs provides selective assistance and limited grant support to non-profit activities of private sector organizations whose goals complement the public diplomacy programs of the U.S. Government. The Office has an operating budget of approximately $7.1 million.

During the past year the Office has been the focus of considerable press attention and Congressional scrutiny. Allegations of political bias, flawed management, questionable grant decisions, and even illegality have characterized an intense public debate that unquestionably has affected the ability of the Office to contribute to the Agency's overall mission.

The Commission and USIA Inspectors have examined these allegations with care. We are aware of no illegalities in the operations of the Office, and we are satisfied that a number of steps have been taken to assure critics of the soundness and integrity of these valuable programs.

A thorough examination by USIA's Office of Inspections also identified no illegalities but did make a number of useful recommendations that have since been implemented by the Director of the Agency. Chief among these is the development of adequate guidelines and standards for the conduct of the grant process and the independent evaluation of grant applications. These guidelines have been submitted to the Commission and appropriate Committees of Congress. The Agency has also adopted personnel policies that will ensure continuity, staff expertise, and adequate management supervision in the Office.

In the Commission's judgment, these steps have done a great deal to re-establish public confidence in USIA's grant programs.

The Commission also welcomes continued Congressional oversight. It questions, however, whether the requirement that Congress be notified fifteen days in advance of all Agency program grants is necessary or sound public policy.

We strongly support the right of Congress to inquire into any aspect of USIA's activities including specific grant decisions. And USIA's Congressional oversight committees appropriately worked with the Agency to develop new grant application guidelines and grant review criteria. But it does not appear to be appropriate or useful for Congress to participate routinely in decisions to award Agency grants—in

effect reserving the right to influence grant decisions before they are made. Moreover, to require that *all* program grants be submitted in advance creates an excessive administrative burden on the Agency. We urge Congress to reconsider its notification requirement.

Foundations, academic and cultural institutions, and other not-for-profit organizations are essential to the conduct of public diplomacy. Proven organizations, traditionally funded by USIA, should continue to play a central role in multiplying what can be accomplished through government programs alone. They should not, however, be immune to careful scrutiny and periodic review. At the same time, promising new organizations should be encouraged to participate in the Agency's grant programs. By acting as a catalyst to the involvement of both new and traditionally-funded organizations, the Office of Private Sector Programs performs an important and necessary function.

German-American Tricentennial

USIA has been deeply involved during the year in two related and significant efforts to strengthen U.S. ties with a key NATO ally, the Federal Republic of Germany.

The best known is the German-American Tricentennial, which commemorates the arrival of the first German immigrants to America in 1683 when 13 Mennonite families from the city of Krefeld, West Germany, arrived in Philadelphia and founded Germantown. The Tricentennial celebrates the contribution that citizens of German descent have made to the building of the United States. The Tricentennial was officially launched on January 6, 1983 when the Chairman of this Commission represented the U.S. Government and the American people at the inaugural ceremonies in Krefeld.

To encourage and coordinate the many activities and observances that took place during the year, and to raise money from private sector contributions to support them, President Reagan established a commission with members drawn from the government, the private sector and the German-American community. The USIA Director served on the Tricentennial Commission as the personal representative of the President. USIA provided staff and administrative support. More than 900 programs in 45 states and the District of Columbia have honored the Tricentennial. These have included symphony concerts, film festivals, book fairs and art exhibits.

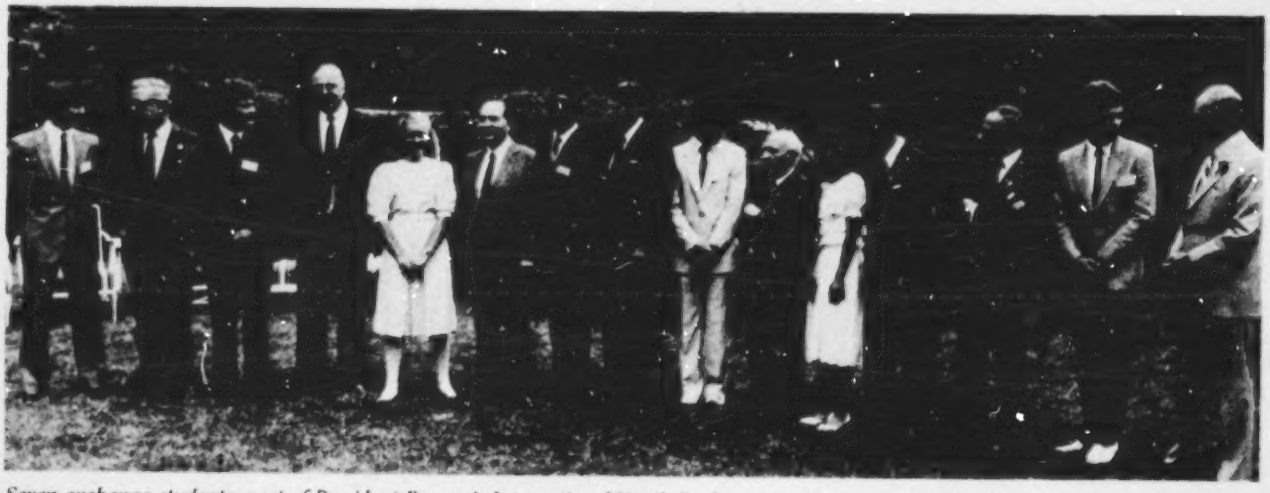
Both countries have given this anniversary high-level attention. Vice President Bush traveled to Krefeld to take part with President Karl Carstens and Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a ceremony honoring the departure of the first German families. The high point of the year's cultural activities and ceremonies was the visit to Philadelphia in October of President Carstens and the dedication the same month of a two-acre Friendship Garden on the mall between the White House and the Jefferson memorial.

Another initiative is the Inter-Agency Steering Committee on U.S.-German Contacts. At the request of the Secretary of State, Director Wick became chairman of the committee on which 25 federal departments and agencies—all with programs involving the Federal Republic of Germany—are represented. They range in size from the Department of Defense to the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities. The Federal Republic has created a counterpart committee in Bonn. These committees are working to improve the quality of contacts between the two governments as well as to broaden and strengthen private exchanges.

The Commission regards the German-American Tricentennial as an especially interesting example of private sector-government cooperation, and commends the contribution of the Agency to these important efforts. USIA would do well, we think, to make continued use of shared interest in important historical events as a basis for significant program initiatives.

International Visitors selected and funded by USIA are hosted by thousands of American citizens through a nation-wide network of local volunteer organizations. Many are affiliated with the National Council for International Visitors.

The President's International Youth Exchange Initiative



Seven exchange students, part of President Reagan's International Youth Exchange Initiative, meet their nations' leaders during the Williamsburg Economic Summit.

President Reagan's International Youth Exchange Initiative was launched in May, 1982 at the Versailles conference with the enthusiastic approval of all summit partners. In the President's words, it will "insure closer relations and mutual understanding among the 'successor' generations" by increasing exchanges of young people, ages 15 to 25, between the United States and its economic summit partners—Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom. These countries are matching the money that the U.S. is spending on youth exchanges.

The Youth Exchange Initiative is a partnership between the private sector and government to double the number of exchanges within three years. This partnership involves private organizations, who as grant recipients will actually manage the exchange program; private sector financial support raised by the President's Council; a privately funded advertising campaign; and increased community involvement.

The Initiative will not create new private or public organizations. Rather, it will help existing non-profit organizations expand and improve their programs by offering grants of combined donated and appropriated funds. In the first year, grants were awarded to 33 organizations, ranging from $8,000 to more than $590,000 and totaling about $1.4 million.

The President's Council for International Youth Exchange is composed of 110 American leaders in business and education, including Mrs. Mae Sue Talley, a member of this Commission. The Council seeks to raise $10 million over the next three years to match an equal amount from the federal government. During its first year, the Council has received pledges of $3.35 million.

The National Advertising Council has taken the International Youth Exchange as one of its public service ad campaigns. Youth Exchange ads are now appearing on television and radio and in newspapers and magazines across the country. The Ad Council estimates that 30 to 50 million dollars of free advertising will result. These ads recruit American host families and American youth for exchanges abroad.

USIA has always depended heavily on private citizens to carry out its mission. Director Charles Z. Wick has stated that one of his goals is to encourage a stronger partnership between USIA and the private sector in achieving shared goals in public diplomacy. The extensive involvement of the private sector in Youth Exchange—from families to large corporations to local communities—is a major step in that direction which should be encouraged.

A new program of this magnitude and complexity will undoubtedly encounter some problems. We understand that the intention is eventually to broaden this program to include developing countries as well. In the Commission's view this should be done as soon as feasible. Youth Exchange shows promise of becoming a major and permanent U.S. exchange program. The Commission commends the President's International Youth Exchange Initiative and will follow its development with great interest.

Books, Libraries, and English Teaching

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Commission recommends that Congress enact legislation increasing the tax deduction for donated books to increase the incentive for publishers to donate books for USIA program use.

- The Commission recommends that the Agency strengthen its English teaching programs and give increased support to Binational Centers.

Books

USIA's book program promotes the export and distribution of American books in English and in translation abroad. Overseas, Agency-supported book publishing is primarily in such languages as Arabic, French, Spanish, and Chinese, with occasional publishing in other languages such as Korean, Thai, Burmese, and Portuguese.

USIA maintains regional book offices in Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Hong Kong, and Paris for the African Regional Service Center. None of the books produced are actually published by USIA. Instead, its support takes the form of assistance to publishers who then sell the books through commercial channels.

In 1976, the number of books published with USIA's assistance dropped below one million for the first time since the program was established in 1950. USIA's book production in FY 1982 totalled only 571,035. Worldwide production in the 1960s was more than 10 million in some years.

Students at the USIS Library in Kingston.

A collection of books on U.S. law is donated to the Bahraini Ministry of Justice and Islamic Affairs by USIS Manama.

By comparison, in 1980 (the latest year for which statistics are available), the Soviet Union published more than 12 million books in Spanish alone. In 1979 and 1980, the USSR's publishing of Spanish language children's books exceeded the total worldwide USIA efforts in all languages.

USIA's Donated Book program distributes books donated by U.S. publishers. These books are used for presentation to influential foreign nationals; to support Fulbright lecturers or other Americans speaking overseas; and for distribution or exhibition at libraries, seminars or scholarly institutions. For many years, donated books have been an important resource in USIA's cultural programs.

Until 1968, American publishers were able to deduct the "fair market value," i.e. approximately the retail price for books donated to USIA. But under an IRS ruling and subsequent tax legislation, publishers were limited to deductions for the "actual manufacturing cost" for such donations. It became cheaper for publishers to destroy their excess inventories than to pay shipping costs to USIA. Either way the tax advantage would be the same. Since 1969 donations to the Agency from American publishers have decreased from as many as 3 million books per year to approximately 100,000 per year.

The Commission recommends that Congress enact legislation increasing the tax deduction for donated books to double the manufacturing cost. This would provide an incentive for publishers to donate books to USIA and, in the Commission's view, avoid the abuses that led to more restrictive tax legislation. The Agency should of course retain its discretion to select only books that have program value. The Commission believes this would be an important step in promoting the dissemination of American books overseas.

The creation of an organization in the United States similar to the British Book Development Council should also be considered. The Council, sponsored by the British Government and the publishing industry, views books as an important expression of culture. It has proved exceptionally useful in encouraging book distribution overseas. It could serve as a model for U.S. Government and private sector cooperation.

Libraries

In the past twenty years the number of USIA libraries abroad dropped from 254 to 131, and the number of books in those libraries declined from 2.4 million to 800,000. Despite that, libraries continue to play a vital role in the Agency's cross-cultural communication effort.

USIA's libraries vary from country to country, but the majority offer a full range of library services—book loans, reference services (in person and by telephone and mail) and access to audio-visual materials. The collections in each library may range in size from 4,000 to 30,000 volumes. They focus on current publications in the social sciences, international relations, the arts, and the humanities. All maintain a core collection containing the highlights and classics of American thought and literature. They provide foreign students and researchers access to the best of American scholarly and cultural achievements and are visited by more than 3.5 million people annually.

In 1982, the Agency issued a new policy statement for its libraries. It emphasized their value, calling them "visible American institutions . . . [which] provide an important and accessible American cultural presence overseas . . . well suited to reach influential leaders and the highly motivated self-selecting audience." The Commission concurs and hopes that USIA's libraries will receive the support they need to strengthen and expand their valuable work.

English Teaching and Binational Centers

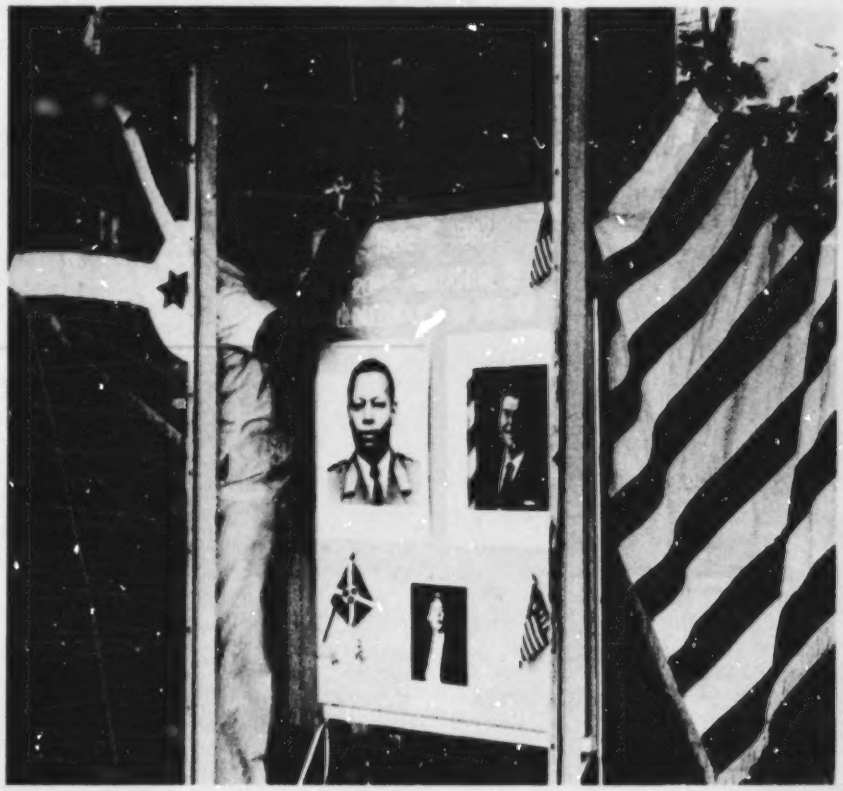
Declining funds have also seriously weakened two other important and closely related programs—English teaching and Binational Centers (BNCs).

USIA supports both direct and indirect English teaching programs. The latter focuses on teacher training, curricula development, and working with ministries of education and institutes of higher learning. In 1967 there were 107 USIA staff officers and 49 American grantees engaged in English teaching programs overseas. Today, the Agency has only 9 English teaching officers serving as consultants to USIS posts. The Agency prepares English teaching and teacher training materials, and also publishes the quarterly journal *English Teaching Forum* for teachers of English as a foreign language.

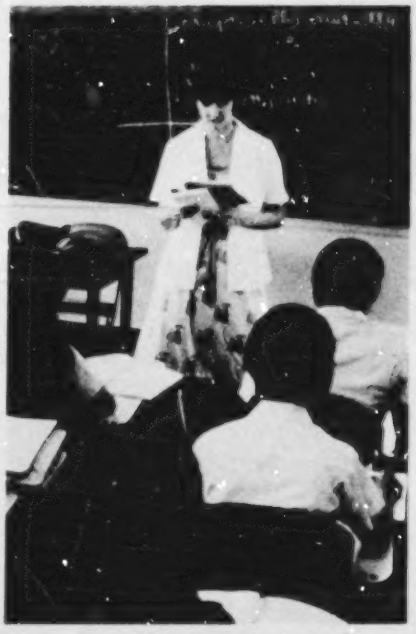
The Agency directly supports English teaching through BNCs, local binational institutions of private citizens which are largely self-supporting. In the opinion of many Agency officers, they are potentially one of the most important—and presently most neglected—resources for reaching successor generations in the developing countries. They are especially important in Latin America. Through their classes and libraries, BNCs teach English to large numbers of young people. More than 350,000 attended English-language classes at USIA-assisted centers last year. Some will reach positions of leadership having made a personal commitment to learn our language and culture. The proficiency in English acquired at the BNCs enables many of these students to seek admission to American universities and to compete for our exchange grants.

These centers, through their libraries and cultural programs, represent a continuing American interest in the daily life of the host country, reinforcing the awareness that local citizens and Americans share basic interests and can work together to mutual advantage. Yet despite their proven value to U.S. interests, years of budget constraints and higher priorities in other areas have led to a steady reduction in the Agency's involvement with BNCs. In 1968, for example, 139 American USIA personnel were serving in 132 BNCs around the world. Today, there are 13 Agency officers serving in 12 centers. The Agency does maintain some contact with approximately 60 centers around the world, offering occasional cultural programs and modest assistance.

Enhancement of the BNCs by USIA may take forms which do not necessarily mean a return to direct subsidies. USIA should look carefully at other options which would allow it to offer professional in-service training for English teachers and librarians, support in the form of texts and teaching aids, occasional upgrading of physical facilities of classrooms and libraries, and more frequent cultural programs.



An American Cultural Center window display commemorates the twentieth anniversary of Burundian independence.



Thai students learn English at the Binational Center in Bangkok.

The Agency Changes Names (Plus que ça change . . .)

The United States Information Agency (USIA), known from 1978 to 1982 as the U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA), was officially renamed USIA on August 24, 1982 by act of Congress. Thus the Agency reverted to the name it had been known by since 1953, and overseas it is once again called the United States Information Service (USIS).

The name "USICA" led to confusion about the nature and purpose of the Agency and was never popular either with the Agency's employees or with the public abroad. The legislation leaves the Agency and its functions intact. The Commission commends the Agency Director for his initiative and the Congress for its action in bringing about a name change that everyone welcomed.

Relocation and Consolidation of USIA in Washington

For 30 years USIA was plagued by the fact that its personnel and major activities in Washington were scattered in many widely dispersed locations in Washington. Inevitably, this made communication and coordination more difficult, and the efficiency of the Agency suffered. In the fall of 1981 the Agency began planning to rectify this situation and achieve a long-standing goal to consolidate its Washington headquarters.

A search team selected a new building at 301 4th Street, S.W., across the intersection from the Voice of America, and Congressional approval to lease the building was obtained in September 1982. The design of some 330,000 square feet of interior space was promptly completed, and the move began before the end of the year. By September 1983 the new USIA building was almost fully occupied, and more than 90 percent of the Agency's headquarters employees are now consolidated in three adjacent buildings. Although some regrets were expressed that the new location moved the Agency even further away from the State Department and the NSC, the consolidation has increased the efficiency of most Agency operations and improved space utilization.

It is also expected that there will be substantial savings. One-time expenses for the move were approximately $6.5 million, but over a ten-year period it has been estimated that there will be savings of between $7 and $9 million over and above the cost of the move.[1]

The Commission commends the Agency for its initiative in bringing about this long-sought relocation and consolidation and for the efficiency and swiftness with which the move was carried out.

[1] *Consolidation of United States Information Agency Activities in Washington, D.C.*, GAO Report of January 13, 1983.

USIA's new headquarters building at 301 4th St., S.W., Washington, D.C.

Need for More Personnel and Posts Overseas

In its earlier reports, this Commission expressed its conviction that public diplomacy is indispensable to our national security but that it has been inadequately understood and inadequately supported. USIA has never been given resources commensurate with its mission and responsibilities. As columnist James Reston commented recently, "Congress is so preoccupied with the war of missiles, tanks and planes that might happen in the future that it tends to forget the importance of the war of words that is now going on."[1]

The steady decline in the Agency's resources over the past fifteen years should be a matter of serious concern to Congress and the nation. Measured in constant dollars, USIA's budget has declined 27 percent since 1967, and its personnel level has dropped 34 percent. Even more disturbing to this Commission is the drop in the number of USIA employees overseas—where the work of explaining U.S. actions and supporting U.S. policies takes place. In 1967 the Agency had 1,716 Americans overseas and 7,062 foreign national employees. In 1983 there were only 941 Americans (a decline of 45 percent) and 3,539 foreign nationals (a decline of almost 50 percent).

Understaffing makes it difficult to administer a sound personnel assignment and transfer system. It also adversely affects professional development. For example, USIA's staffing level is too low to permit adequate specialized educational and training programs for junior and middle-grade officers.

The expansion of certain existing activities and the addition of major new programs will further strain the limits of already overburdened overseas staffs. The President's new International Youth Exchange Initiative and the increases in educational exchanges and the International Visitors program, mandated by the Pell Amendment, will require the support of additional American exchange officers and more foreign national employees if these important programs are to succeed.

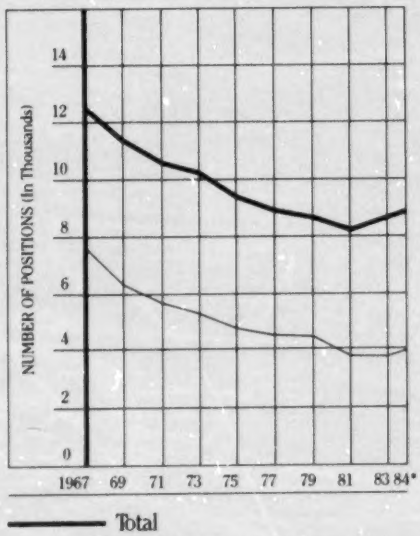
The investigations of this Commission, including inspection trips by individual Commission members to a substantial number of overseas posts in every geographic area, have pointed up the pressing need for more people and more posts. For example, China, the world's most populous nation, presents unique opportunities and challenges to USIA as it emerges from 30 years of isolation. The Chinese are eager to know about the U.S. and its policies. USIS can perform a vital function here, as it has demonstrated by the achievements of posts in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (Canton).

It is essential that we now reach other parts of China. The Agency should open branch posts in Shenyang (Manchuria), in Chengdu (Sichuan), concurrent with the opening of the new American Consulate General in that city this year, and in Wuhan (Central China), where another American Consulate General is soon to be opened. These cities are the administrative, commercial and educational centers for regions having a combined population of more than 350 million people. U.S. interests would also be well-served if there were branch posts in Khon Kaen, Thailand and in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Dwindling resources caused the Agency to close many small posts, some of which the Commission believes should be reopened. For the last ten years USIS has had no American officers in any city outside of London or Paris in the United Kingdom and France. We believe there is important work for USIS officers in the major regional centers in those countries. Branch posts are also needed in Spain, Portugal, Germany, Morocco and Nigeria. American officers should be assigned to Mozambique and Djibouti. The Agency recently expanded its eastern Caribbean operations to include Grenada. Beyond that in Latin America, the need is for more people and resources for existing posts.

We do not wish to list every post and position where additional personnel are needed, but we do wish to make the point that the Agency's overseas staffing has been reduced below the level where new programs can be accommodated or critical issues adequately handled. While the Agency proposes to add a few new positions and posts overseas, it should assign a much higher priority to the strengthening of its operations in the field.

Distribution of USIA Positions



[1] *The New York Times*, September 28, 1983.

Personnel and Management Problems

During the spring of 1983, the Commission became concerned when a number of newspaper stories alleged nepotism, favoritism and other personnel irregularities in USIA. We were also informed of Congressional inquiries on the same subject.

The Commission held closed hearings during which it met with the Director, the Agency's Counselor, the Chief Inspector and other senior Agency officials. We learned that the Director had been out of the country when the press articles appeared and the first Congressional inquiries were made. Upon his return, the Director acted promptly: he notified the Comptroller General of the allegations and also ordered investigations by the Agency's Inspection Office, USIA's Office of Security, and the General Counsel.

The investigations found instances of procedural irregularities and bad judgment, but nothing of an illegal or fraudulent nature. Congressional inquiries were answered fully and forthrightly. The Director subsequently established a new position of Inspector General, the number of auditors was increased, and an Assistant Director of Management for Policy Coordination was named as an addition to the Director's staff. More recently, a new Deputy Director and a new Associate Director for Management were nominated.

The Commission was concerned that managerial inadequacies, lax review procedures and critical press coverage could erode public confidence in the Agency. We are persuaded, however, that when the Director confronted the allegations and irregularities, he took action to report, investigate, and correct them. The Commission will monitor the new management arrangements and procedures.

Senior Foreign Service Assignments

For years, this Commission has observed with concern the scant consideration accorded Senior Foreign Service Officers from USIA for assignment abroad as ambassadors or deputy chiefs of mission (DCM).

USIA's officers constitute approximately 19 percent of the career Foreign Service. They enter through the same competitive process (the same examinations administered by the Foreign Service Board of Examiners), are promoted by the same criteria, and share similar experiences and responsibilities abroad with their Foreign Service colleagues from State. In fact, most senior USIA public affairs officers have had far greater experience managing sizeable staffs and substantial budgets than their State Department colleagues of equal rank. Nonetheless, it is rare for a USIA Senior Foreign Service Officer to be appointed ambassador or DCM.[1]

Based on many visits to posts abroad, we are convinced that this does not reflect on the quality of USIA's officers. Rather, it suggests the absence of a process by which they can be fairly evaluated in comparison with their State Department colleagues for these senior positions.

The legislative history of the establishment of the USIA career service and the Senior Foreign Service clearly reveals the presumption that USIA officers would serve in senior positions of our overseas missions. As early as 1966, the Deputy Undersecretary of State for Administration, William J. Crockett, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: "Bringing USIA officers into the career Foreign Service will increase the number of men and women with broad professional training in foreign affairs from whom the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, can choose outstanding individuals for posts of high responsibility."[2]

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 instructed the Secretary of State and the Director of USIA to "implement policies and procedures to insure the Foreign Service officers of the United States Information Agency are able to compete for chief of mission positions and have opportunities for assignments outside their area of specialization on the same basis as other Foreign Service officers." Unfortunately, this portion of the Foreign Service Act has largely been ignored.

The record will show that USIA officers serve with distinction in U.S. missions through the level of Public Affairs Counselor. There they find themselves blocked with little chance to compete for DCM and ambassadorial appointments. Inevitably, this has become a serious morale problem for senior Agency officers. An opportunity to be seriously considered for DCM and ambassadorial appointments would benefit the officers and the entire service.

In an attempt to correct this situation, Congress in 1983 passed legislation changing the designation of USIA's Foreign Service Information Officers to Foreign Service Officers. The name change helps remove implications of second-class status. Congressional intent is clearly to give USIA officers the same opportunities as State Department officers to compete for senior Foreign Service assignments.[3]

There is an increasing need for ambassadors with public affairs skills. Modern developments in communication and transportation have significantly altered the role and functions of ambassadors, greatly increasing the importance of public diplomacy in the conduct of international affairs. As a result, the experience of USIA's senior officers has become even more relevant to our country's needs abroad.

We realize that years of habit and tradition cannot abruptly be changed. Nevertheless, a way should be found by State and USIA to assign the best of USIA's career officers as chiefs or deputy chiefs of mission.

[1] Currently there are 84 State officers in ambassadorial positions and 128 DCMs. Two USIA officers are presently assigned as ambassadors. Three are DCMs.

[2] Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing, 89th Congress, April 19, 1966.

[3] P.L. 98-164, November 22, 1983.

APPENDIX I

Radio Marti

On September 22, 1981, President Reagan issued Executive Order 12323 creating a Presidential Commission on Broadcasting to Cuba. A ten-member Commission, chaired by F. Clifton White, was appointed in mid-January, 1982.[1]

In its Final Report, the Commission urged the early establishment of radio broadcasting to provide the people of Cuba with accurate news and information, particularly about Cuba itself. The Commission recommended that broadcasting to Cuba be undertaken by an independent, non-profit entity, called Radio Broadcasting to Cuba, Inc., which would operate in much the same manner as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

At the same time, President Reagan sought legislation to authorize and appropriate funds for radio broadcasting to Cuba. The Administration proposed a separate government-funded station named Radio Marti and sought to place it under the Board for International Broadcasting.

Congress approved Radio Marti in the fall of 1983, but in a very different form. Rather than a separate station, it placed Radio Marti within the Voice of America, providing for 14 hours of daily VOA programming directed at Cuba. It also established a Presidential Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba.

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy met to consider the impact of this legislation. Historically, this Commission has not questioned separately funded surrogate broadcasting activities. It has, however, strongly opposed placing them in the Voice of America.

The Commission decided to reaffirm its position publicly in letters to the President and his senior foreign affairs advisors and to Congressional leaders involved in the Radio Marti decision. We have reprinted the Commission's letter and several replies to it, because we believe they are helpful in clarifying Congressional and Administration intent in implementing the Radio Marti legislation.

As requested by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and in connection with its general oversight responsibilities, this Commission will assess the activities and organizational structure of Radio Marti with care.

United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy
Washington, D.C. 20547

The Honorable
George Shultz
Secretary of State

September 21, 1983

Dear Mr. Secretary:

At its monthly meeting today, this Commission was fully informed for the first time of pending legislation to place Radio Marti within the Voice of America. The Commission strongly and unanimously believes this is not sound public policy and that it sets a precedent of uncertain consequence.

While we do not argue against Radio Marti as a separately funded organization administered by the Board for International Broadcasting, we do oppose placing surrogate broadcasting activities within VOA.

As the official radio voice of the U.S. Government, VOA's mission historically has differed significantly from the surrogate broadcasting activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and the mission for Radio Marti envisaged by President Reagan. Placing Radio Marti within VOA can cast doubt on VOA's most important and fragile asset—its credibility.

However, if the decision cannot be reversed, we believe that legislative history must clearly show Congressional intent that VOA's Charter not be compromised, that the newly established Cuban Service meet the highest standards of accuracy and objectivity, and that it not become the voice of any single segment of American society.

As you know, this Commission is an independent, bipartisan Presidential body created by Congress to conduct a continuing overview of the U.S. Information Agency and to report its findings to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, and the Director of USIA. In light of our strong concerns, we will closely monitor the implementation of this legislation and the activities of the Cuban Service and its Advisory Board with a view toward maintaining a strong, credible and highly professional Voice of America.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. (R)
Chairman
VIRGINIA

e. robert (bob) wallach (D)
Vice Chairman
CALIFORNIA

Hershey Gold (D)
CALIFORNIA

Tom C. Korologos (R)
VIRGINIA

Olin C. Robison (D)
VERMONT

Leonard L. Silverstein (R)
MARYLAND

Mae Sue Talley (R)
ARIZONA

[1]Other members of the Commission were William Bourne Bayer, Joseph Coors, Tirso Del Junco, George Jacobs, Jorge L. Mas, Richard M. Scaife, Herbert Schmertz, Richard B. Stone, and Charles Z. Wick.

[1]Identical letters were also sent to President Reagan, USIA Director Charles Z. Wick, VOA Director Kenneth Tomlinson, the leadership of the House and Senate, and members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

October 8, 1983

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.,
Chairman,
United States Advisory Commission on
Public Diplomacy.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your September 21 letter expressing the concerns of the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy regarding pending legislation to place Radio Marti within the Voice of America (VOA).

While we do not consider the proposed "compromise legislation" adopted by the Senate on September 13 and by the House of Representatives on September 29 to be the best of all possible arrangements, we are satisfied that the bill will enable the United States to break Castro's monopoly on news and information within Cuba. We believe that this foreign policy initiative should have been implemented 25 years ago.

The intent of the legislation, as we understand it, is to establish a Cuba Service within the VOA as a discrete entity. The Service is directed to "be administered separately from other Voice of America functions." The head of the Service shall report directly to the Director of the United States Information Agency, as well as to the Director of the VOA. The drafters of the legislation have distinguished between the historic mission of the Voice of America and the need for additional broadcasting designed to promote freedom in Cuba.

Senator Charles Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the "father" of the VOA Charter, called attention to the discrete missions of the VOA and Radio Marti during the recent Senate floor debate on the bill. He said, "The purpose of this substitute (legislation) is to establish within the Voice of America a Cuba Service which will broadcast news, commentary and other information about events in Cuba in an effort to promote the cause of freedom in Cuba."

Senator Percy declared that he strongly supported "the goals of the Voice of America and the establishment of a home broadcasting service for Cuba." He concluded, "It is my hope that the conflict in these missions will not adversely affect the credibility of the Voice of America nor unduly restrict the flexibility and effectiveness of Radio Broadcasting to Cuba."

Similarly, Senator Lawton Chiles said, "There is no reason to assume that Radio Marti will not abide by the same high standards which have been the trademark of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and the Voice of America: providing objective and reliable information."

While it would have preferred to see Radio Marti under the Board for International Broadcasting, the Administration has agreed to accept this compromise. Broadcasting tailored to the objective of promoting freedom in Cuba by the new Cuba Service will maintain the same high standards for accuracy and reliability as the traditional Voice of America broadcasts. Thus, the Voice of America will maintain its reputation as a credible and highly professional broadcast organization.

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman
United States Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy
Washington, D.C. 20547

October 11, 1983

Dear Ed,

I have read with interest your letter to the President regarding the Commission's concerns over the legislation that establishes Radio Marti within the Voice of America. We share your concerns, both because of our deep commitment to maintaining the integrity of the Voice of America and our parallel commitment to provide a genuine national radio service to the people of Cuba. We are also concerned about several of the managerial arrangements incorported in the legislation including the Radio Marti Advisory Commission which is to be established.

I would encourage your United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy to keep a close watch over the development of these activities and provide the President periodic reporting. We must insure that the Voice of America mission is not compromised. Similarly, we want to permit Radio Marti to function as it should. I would be interested in your considered judgement on how the new structure is working after a few months have passed. I appreciate your interest in these matters which also are key concerns to the Administration.

Bill

William P. Clark

PAULA HAWKINS
FLORIDA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman
United States Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy
Washington, D.C. 20547

October 14, 1983

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Radio Marti compromise legislation that places the surrogate home broadcast station within the Voice of America.

I share the high regard that the Commission holds for the mission and accomplishments of the Voice of America. The Voice is on the frontlines in the battle of ideas, and it is in this arena where the ultimate fate of humanity will be decided. The key to the Voice's success is its credibility. Without this, its message will fall on deaf ears.

The same is true, however, for Radio Marti. The success of this new surrogate home station is no less dependent than the Voice on its credibility. If the people of Cuba cannot rely on Radio Marti for accurate and objective broadcasts then we might as well hang up our hat right now because the station will be a failure.

Though both Marti and the Voice rely on their credibility for their success this does not mean that the purposes of the stations can or should be alike. I know you are familiar with the mission of the Voice. By contrast, Radio Marti is a surrogate home broadcast station, and as such its broadcasts frequently are hard-hitting reports that contrast the *real* story with what the Cuban people are being fed by the Cuban propaganda machine. Its style will be more like the hard-hitting investigative journalism that we have seen develop in this country over the last decade. This, I believe, is not inconsistent with an emphasis on objectivity and accuracy.

I believe that our nation needs both the Voice and Radio Marti, and that both operations can be conducted in the national interest.

Sincerely,

Paula

Paula Hawkins
United States Senator

CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL., CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.
JESSE HELMS, N.C.
S. I. HAYAKAWA, CALIF.
RICHARD G. LUGAR, IND.
CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR., MD.
NANCY L. KASSEBAUM, KANS.
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DELTON D. CHRISTOPHERSON, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
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EDWARD KENNEDY, MASS.
PAUL E. TSONGAS, MASS.
ALAN CRANSTON, CALIF.
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, CONN.

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

October 11, 1983

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman
United States Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy
Washington, D.C. 20547

Dear Mr. Feulner:

Just a brief note to thank you, and the other members of the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, for informing me of your views on the recent legislation on Radio Marti. Your concerns regarding a compromise of the VOA's charter are well founded and I am glad to know that you will be monitoring closely the new Cuban service. I hope you will keep me informed of your findings.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
United States Senator

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United States Information Agency

Washington, D.C. 20547

Director

USIA

September 23, 1983

The Honorable
Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman
United States Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy
Washington, D.C. 20547

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your September 21 letter concerning the Advisory Commission's views on Radio Marti. USIA did not seek this legislation.

However, I want to affirm that I too will closely monitor its implementation. We totally agree with the need to maintain a strong, credible and highly professional Voice of America.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Z. Wick

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APPENDIX II

Former Members of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs (1953-1977)

Homer Daniels Babbidge, Jr.
President, University of Connecticut
Connecticut

Eva T. H. Brann
St. Johns College
Maryland

Richard T. Burress
Associate Director
Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace
California

Leo D. Cherne
Executive Director
Research Institute of America
New York

Thomas B. Curtis
Vice President and General Counsel
Encyclopedia Britannica
Missouri

David R. Derge
President, Southern Illinois University
Illinois

Harry S. Flemming
President, Inverness Capital Corporation
Former Special Assistant to the President
Virginia

Luther H. Foster
President, Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

John W. Gardner
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York
New York

Lawrence Goldberg
Vice President, Brandeis University
Massachusetts

Rufus C. Harris
President, Mercer University
Georgia

Rita E. Hauser
Attorney at Law
Stroock & Stroock & Lavan
New York

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh
President, University of Notre Dame
Indiana

Walter Johnson
Professor, University of Chicago
Illinois

Jewel Lafontant
Attorney at Law
Stradford, Lafontant, Gibson, Fisher and Corrigan
Illinois

Roy E. Larsen
Vice Chairman of the Board
Time and Life Building
New York

James A. S. Leach
President, Flamegas Co., Inc.
Iowa

Leonard H. Marks
Attorney at Law
Cohn and Marks
Former Director, United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Beryl B. Milburn
Vice Chairwoman,
Texas Constitutional Revision Committee
Texas

Wayland P. Moody
President, San Antonio College
Texas

Dortch Oldham
Retired Publisher
Chairman, Tennessee Republican Party
Tennessee

Martha L. Pate
Chairwoman of College and School Division of the United Negro College Fund
Connecticut

Arnold M. Picker
Executive Vice President
United Artists Corporation
New York

Thomas E. Robinson
Rider College
New Jersey

Robert A. Scalapino
Professor of Political Science
University of California at Berkeley
California

Joseph R. Smiley
Professor of Modern Languages
University of Texas El Paso
Texas

William French Smith
Attorney General of the United States
Washington, D.C.

Pauline Tompkins
President, Cedar Crest College
Pennsylvania

William C. Turner
President, Western Management Consultants, Inc.
Arizona

Former Members of the United States Advisory Commission on Information (1948-1977)

William F. Buckley, Jr.
Columnist
New York

Erwin D. Canham
Editor
Christian Science Monitor
Massachusetts

Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler
Vice President,
Times-Mirror Company
California

Jonathan W. Daniels
Editor, Raleigh News and Observer, Author
North Carolina

Lewis W. Douglas
Ambassador to Great Britain
Chairman of the Board,
Mutual of New York
New York

Mark E. Ethridge
Publisher, Louisville Courier Journal
Kentucky

George H. Gallup
Chairman of the Board
American Institute of Public Opinion
New Jersey

Ben Hibbs
Editor, Saturday Evening Post
New York

Palmer Hoyt
Publisher and Editor,
Denver Post
Colorado

Sigurd S. Larmon
Chairman of the Board and
President, Young and Rubican Advertising Company
New York

Hobart Lewis
Chairman of the Board
Editor-in-Chief, Reader's Digest
New York

Mark A. May
Professor of Psychology and Director of Institute of Human Relations, Yale University
Connecticut

James A. Michener
Author
Pennsylvania

Justin Miller
Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals
President, National Association of Broadcasters
California

Clark A. Mollenhoff
Columnist, Author
Washington, D.C.

Arthur C. Nielsen, Jr.
President,
A.C. Nielsen Company
Illinois

Morris S. Novik
Labor Consultant on Media, AFL-CIO
New York

Philip D. Reed
Chairman of the Board and President,
General Electric Co.
New York

J. Leonard Reinsch
President,
Cox Broadcasting Corporation
Georgia

John L. Seigenthaler
Editor, Nashville Tennesseean
Tennessee

John M. Shaheen
President, Shaheen Natural Resources Company, Inc.
New York

Frank Stanton
President, Columbia Broadcasting System
New York

Thomas Van Husen Vail
Publisher and Editor, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Ohio

Former Members of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1978-)

John Hope Franklin
Senior Mellon Fellow,
National Humanities Center
Professor of History
University of Chicago
North Carolina

Lewis Manilow
Attorney,
Former President, Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art
Illinois

Jean McKee
Executive Director,
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service
New York

Neil Sherburne
Former Chairman, Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges
Secretary-Treasurer, Minnesota AFL-CIO (Retired)
Minnesota

For additional information,
please write:

United States Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy

Room 600
301 4th St., S.W.
Washington, D.C 20547

G. Richard Monsen, Staff Director
Bruce Gregory, Deputy Staff Director
(202) 485-2457